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THE HOMERIC
CATALOGUE OF SHIPS

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THE HOMERIC CATALOGUE OF SHIPS

Edited with a Commentary by

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Fellow of Queen's College

τὸ τεχνίον ὃ ἔμαθες φίλει, τούτῳ προσαναπαύου



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To

A. J. B. W.

To remind him of Alban woods

P R E F A C E

THIS book is an expansion of the article I contributed to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* in 1910 called 'The Homeric Catalogue', in which I endeavoured to show, I believe practically for the first time, that the Catalogue of Ships gave a true picture of the geography and political position of the Heroic Age. An article of thirty pages could not do justice to the theme, and I now present my conclusions under a more substantial guise. The greater part of the book was delivered as a lecture in 1916, and again in 1919. When I came to publish it I thought that the reader would be benefited by having a text of the Catalogue to consult: to the text I added a selection of readings. What had been a lecture therefore became a commentary. As a result I find it necessary to say that my commentary is designed to serve the same purpose as my original paper, namely to prove the authenticity and age of the Catalogue. The commentary therefore is not exhaustive, in fact it only contains such information as serves the purpose of my publication, and by no means the whole stock of existing evidence upon for instance Boeotia or Thessaly. I cite excavations and travels only when they are necessary to prove my contention, and assume ordinary archeological knowledge, which, indeed, I should have difficulty in properly presenting over so wide an area.

I have to thank Mr. Arkwright for some communications Mr. Shewan for various information, and in especial Mr. Alan J. B. Wace, who has read a good deal of this book, and

allowed me to quote I am afraid rather extensively from an unpublished lecture of his on Thessaly. Mr. H. I. Bell introduced me to p^{104} , hitherto unpublished.¹

The Papyri that contain parts of B 493 sqq. appear to be the following fourteen :

Oxyrhynchus 20

21

540

541

946

Hibeh 19 = p^{40} s. iii A. C.

Bodl. class. a (1) = p^2 s. v P. C.

Tebtunis 265 = p^{38} s. ii P. C.

Berol. 9583

Fayum Towns 309

Aberdeen 1

„ 2

Greco-Egizii 107

B.M. 1873 = p^{104} s. i P. C.

Of these the only ones whose variants need mention are p^{38} p^{40} p^{104} .

Besides these we have the important commentary (with lemmata) on book II in Pap. Ox. 1086, s. i A. C., and a quotation from the hypomnema of Ammonius, Pap. Ox. 221 s. ii P. C. For an explanation of the symbols of the MSS. I refer to the Oxford text of the *Iliad*, 1919, Preface. The critical signs at the side of the text represent those transmitted in A. Others are mentioned in the notes.

qu. = quidam.

s = scholium, scholia.

T. W. A.

July 1920.

¹ See a facsimile, *New Palaeographical Society*, Series II, plate 53.

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Greece	<i>at end</i>
The Trojan Allies	"

THE CATALOGUE OF SHIPS

- Βοιωτῶν μὲν Πηνέλεως καὶ Δῆϊτος ἦρχον
 Ἄρκεσίλαός τε Προθοήνωρ τε Κλονίος τε, B 495
 οἳ θ' Ἐρίην ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αὐλίδα πετρήεσαν
 Σχοῖνόν τε Σκῶλόν τε πολύκνημόν τ' Ἐτεωνόν,
 > Θέσπειαν Γραῖάν τε καὶ εὐρύχορον Μυκαλησσόν,
 οἳ τ' ἀμφ' Ἄρμ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Εἰλέσιον καὶ Ἐρυθράς,
 > οἳ τ' Ἐλεῶν' εἶχον ἡδ' Ὑλην καὶ Πετεῶνα, 500
 Ὡκαλέην Μεδεῶνά τ', ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,
 > Κώπας Εὐτρησίν τε πολυτρήρωνά τε Θίσβην,

Catalogum omittunt ^p3 D m. r. Ge L¹⁴ M⁵ M¹⁰ Ma² Mc Mo² Mon² N⁴ O⁴ O⁵ O⁸ P¹⁷
 P¹⁹ Pal¹ T U⁶ U⁹ V²² V³¹ V¹⁴ add. post Ω Ma² P¹⁷ deest paraphrasis M¹¹
Titulus om. A L² L¹³ L¹⁸ L¹⁶ Ma¹ Mc Mo² O² P⁸ P¹² P¹⁷ P²¹ Pal² V⁶ V²¹ V²⁶ con-
 tinuatur textus sine intervallo ^p104 U⁷ U¹¹

ἀρχὴ τῆς βοιωτίας vulg. (σὺν θεῷ, σὺν θεῷ ἀγίῳ nonnulli)
 ἀρχὴ τῆς βοιωτίας ὁμήρου E¹ L⁴ M¹¹ M¹³ Ma² P¹³ R¹
 ἀρχὴ τῆς βοιωτίας ὁμήρου κατάλογος νεῶν Bm⁵ Bm⁷ Pa Pe U¹⁰
 κατάλογος τῶν (om. nonnulli) νεῶν L⁷ L¹⁵ L²⁰ H¹ M⁶ U³ V²⁴
 νεῶν κατάλογος L⁵ L⁶ L¹¹ Mo O⁷ V²
 ἀπαρίθμησις τῶν νεῶν L¹⁰
 κατάλογος τῶν νεῶν κατὰ τοῦ τῶν τρώων στρατεύματος L¹²
 κατάλογος τῶν στρατευσαμένων καὶ τῆς τροίας ἐλλήνων καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν νεῶν M¹⁰
 κατάλογος νεῶν ἥ (ἥτοι Eu. V³²) βοιωτία Eu. P¹⁰ V¹ V³²
 ἀρχὴ τῆς βοιωτίας ὁμήρου βασιλίδας M⁸ V¹²
 βοιωτία νεῶν κατάλογος P² (καὶ ν.), P⁵ V³ ed. pr.
 ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τοῦ καταλόγου τῆς βοιωτίας V¹⁵
 ἀρχὴ τῆς βοιωτίας ὁ κατάλογος τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν νηῶν M¹²
 βοιωτία ὁμήρου ἢ κατάλογος νηῶν Ma³
 ὁμήρου βοιωτία καὶ νηῶν κατάλογος E²
 ὁμήρου βοιωτία P⁴
 κατάλογος Bm⁵
 ὁ τῶν νηῶν ἀριθμός Bm²
 νῆας θ' ἡγεμόνας βοιωτία πάτρας ἀριθμέι pro periocha P⁷
 βοιωτίας ἀρχόμεθα ἀρχὴν τυπωσέμεν U⁶

signa in margine obvia tradidit A

494 πηνέλεως V¹ V⁴ W⁶ Eu. 1002. 8 495 κλονίος S A B Lp Eu., A B D m. r.
 E⁴ corr. L⁶ U² V⁴ al.: κλονίος cet. 496 θυρίην qu. S A B Lp Et. Flor. in Ὑρία
 Eu. 497 πολύκνημόν An. Bekk. 865. 25 498 θέσπειαν Herod. ἐν τῷ ια' τῆς
 καθ. προσ. Orus vulg.: θέσπειαν Herod. ἐν τῇ προσφῶδι: ita A Bm⁶ Bm⁷ H¹ L¹² Ma²
 Ma³ P¹³ V¹⁵ W²: θέσπειαν O⁶ O⁹ P¹¹ V⁵ 499 ἔρυθραι βαρυτόνως μὲν πόλις
 βοιωτίας S min. qu. ap. Eu. 500 ὥκουν pro εἶχον O⁹ 502 Μέσσην pro Θίσβην
 Zen.: θέσβην Ang. L¹³ U⁶ V²⁰: θήσβην L¹⁸: θέσβην O² P¹¹ V²³

- οἱ τε Κορώνειαν καὶ ποιήενθ' Ἀλίартον,
οἱ τε Πλάταιαν ἔχον ἡδ' οἱ Γλισᾶντ' ἐνέμοντο,
οἱ θ' Ὑποθήβας εἶχον, ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,
505 Ὅγχηστόν θ' ἱερόν, Ποσιδῆϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος,
> οἱ τε πολυστάφυλον Ἄρνην ἔχον, οἱ τε Μίδειαν
Νίσάν τε ζαθέην Ἀνθηδόνα τ' ἐσχατώσαν
τῶν μὲν πεντήκοντα νέες κίον, ἐν δὲ ἐκάστη
κοῦροι Βοιωτῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι βαῖνον. 510
- > Οἱ δ' Ἀσπληδόνα ναῖον ἰδ' Ὀρχομενὸν Μινυεῖον,
τῶν ἥρχ' Ἀσκάλαφος καὶ Ἰάλμενος, υἷες Ἄρῃος,
οὓς τέκεν Ἀστυόχη δόμῳ Ἄκτορος Ἀζειίδαο,
παρθένος αἰδοίῃ, ὑπερώϊον εἰσαναβᾶσα,
Ἄρῃ κρατερῶ· ὁ δὲ οἱ παρελέξατο λάθρη· 515
τοῖς δὲ τριήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐστιχόωντο.
- > Αὐτὰρ Φωκίων Σχεδῖος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἥρχον,
υἷες Ἰφίτου μεγαθύμου Ναυβολίδαο,
οἱ Κυπάρισσον ἔχον Πυθωνά τε πετρήεσαν
> Κρίσάν τε ζαθέην καὶ Δαυλίδα καὶ Πανοπήα, 520
οἱ τ' Ἀνεμώρειαν καὶ Ἱάμπολιν ἀμφενέμοντο,
οἱ τ' ἄρα παρ ποταμὸν Κηφισὸν δῖον ἔναιον,
οἱ τε Δίλαιαν ἔχον πηγῆς ἔπι Κηφισοῖο·

503 ποιήεντ' P¹⁰⁴ P¹ P¹¹ V³ V¹ An. Bekk. 865. 27 504 ἡ συνήθεια προπερισπᾶ
τὸ ὄνομα, ἡ δὲ ἱστορία προπαροξύνει s B Lp Eu. γλισ(σ)άντ' Et L⁴ L¹² L¹⁶ Le¹ M¹⁰
M² O² O⁽⁵⁾ O⁷ P¹⁰ P¹¹ R¹ W³ W⁴: γλεισ- P¹⁰⁴ 505 οἱ πλείους οὐ νοοῦσιν ὑπὸ
θήβας ἐν δυοῖ μέρεσι λόγου ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἐν Eu. γρ. . . ἐν μέρεσι λόγου Bm⁴: ita A Bm²
Bm⁵ Bm⁸ L² L⁵ L⁶ L⁹ L¹¹ L¹² L¹³ L¹⁶ L¹⁷ O⁶ O⁷ Pal⁽¹⁾ al. εὐκτίμιον E¹
506 ὄγχηστόν A Bm² Bm⁴ Bm⁶ Bm⁸ O² O⁽⁵⁾ O⁶ O⁷: ὄγχηστον Bm⁵ Bm⁷ P²¹ codd. h.
hom. Apoll. 230, cf. h. Merc. 186 ἄστν s Ap. Rh. iii. 1242: ἄρσος Bm²:
ἄλγος M⁴ 507 Ἀσπλην Zen. qu. s P¹²: Τάρνην qu. ap. Strab. 413, cf. s min.
Eu. Herod. π. παθάν ap. E. M. 146. 5: τ' ἄρνην V¹³ 508 ἴσον, κρεῦσαν,
φαράς, νῦσαν pro νῖσαν qu. ap. Strab. 405 γρ. ἴσον τε P³: κίσσαν R¹
511 ἀσπληδόν ἔναιον codd. plerique: τήν δ' Ἀσπληδόνα χωρὶς τῆς πρώτης συλλαβῆς
ἐκάλουν τινες Strab. 415, cf. Asclepiades fr. 153 F. H. G. iii. 299, Steph. in v. γρ.
καὶ σπληδών P³ 512 ἀλμενος P³⁸ υἷες ἀχαιῶν Ma² V¹⁷, cf. I 82 516 τοῖς
Ar. cum multis codd.: τῶν vulg. 517 φωκείων et φωκῆων Ar. (διχῶς) illud
P¹⁰⁴ Bm⁷ H¹ P¹⁰ (L⁶ U¹ V¹¹ ss.): φωκίων Bm⁴ O⁷ P¹² Pal² U⁵ U¹³ V¹ V¹⁸ σχεδῖος
A B Bm⁴ Bm⁸ E³ E⁴ corr. Ge L⁶ O⁽⁵⁾: σχέδιος cet. (οδῖος ex 856 P¹⁰⁴) 518 υἷες
Bm⁵ L⁴ L¹⁶ M¹⁰ M² P²¹ R¹ S V⁴ V¹² V¹²: υἷες cet. v. om. Diod. Sic. xvi. 23. 5
520 κρίσαν, κρίσαν codd. pauciores V¹ V⁵: κρίσαν vulg. πανοπέων Zen. s
A: πανόπεων sec. Eu.: πανοπίδα H¹: ανθηδόνα τ' εσχατωσαν ex 508 P¹⁰⁴
521 Ἀνεμώρειαν qu. Strab. 424 522 κηφισὸν P² A B Bm⁴ Bm⁶ Bm⁷ C E³ O⁶ V¹
V³ V⁹ V¹¹ V¹ V¹⁶ W³: -σσόν cet. 523 ἔπι Ptol. Pmphil. Bm⁸ C Ca¹ V¹²:
ἐπι Ar. Alexion vulg.

τοῖς δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιnai νῆες ἔποντο.

οἱ μὲν Φωκῶν στίχας ἴστασαν ἀμφιέποντες,

525

Βοιωτῶν δ' ἔμπλην ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ θωρήσσοντο.

> Δοκρῶν δ' ἡγεμόνευεν Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας,

× μείων, οὗ τι τόσος γε ὅσος Τελαμώνιος Αἴας,

— ἀλλὰ πολὺ μείων· ὀλίγος μὲν ἦν, λινοθώρηξ,

— ἐγχείη δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιοῦς.

530

οἱ Κυνόν τ' ἐνέμοντ' Ὀπόεντά τε Καλλίαρὸν τε

Βῆσσάν τε Σκάρφην τε καὶ Αὐγειαὺς ἐρατεινὰς

Τάρφην τε Θρόνιον τε Βοαγρίου ἀμφὶ ρέεθρα

τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιnai νῆες ἔποντο

Δοκρῶν, οἱ ναίουσι πέρην ἱερῆς Εὐβοίης.

535

Οἱ δ' Εὐβοῖαν ἔχον μένεα πνεύοντες Ἀβαντες,

Χαλκίδα τ' Εἰρέτριάν τε πολυστάφυλὸν θ' Ἰστίαίαν

Κήρινθόν τ' ἔφαλον Δίου τ' αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον,

οἳ τε Κάρυστον ἔχον ἡδ' οἱ Στύρα ναιετάασκον,

τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευ' Ἐλεφήνωρ, ὄξος Ἀρῆος,

540

Χαλκωδοντιάδης, μεγαθύμων ἀρχὸς Ἀβάντων.

τῷ δ' ἅμ' Ἀβαντες ἔποντο θοοί, ὅπιθεν κομόωντες,

αἰχμηταὶ μεμαῶτες ὀρεκτῆσιν μελίησι

θώρηκας ῥήξειν δηῖων ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι·

τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιnai νῆες ἔποντο.

545

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,

525 ἔστασαν (ἔστ-) codd. pauciores: εἴστασαν Bm² L¹⁸ 527 ἡ διπλὴ ὅτι τινὲς
τῶν νεωτέρων ἀνέγνωσαν χωρὶς τοῦ ὁ . . . εἶτα Ἰλῆος § A, cf. § B Lp Eu. Hesiod.
fr. 116. 1 Stesich. fr. 84 inscr. JHS. 1898. 286 ὁ Ἰλῆος L¹⁹ Le¹ Ma² O² P¹³ R¹
U¹ U¹³ V¹¹ V¹² V¹²: γρ. Ἰλῆος P⁶ 528 > P³ 528-30 uncino not. Bm⁸
529, 530 ath. Zen. fort. et 528 530 om. P² non leg. Strabo 370 532 βῆσαν
Zen. Herod.: βῆσαν seu βῆσαν Bm⁶ Bm⁷ E¹ H¹ H² L⁸ Le¹ M¹ M⁴ M¹² Ma¹ O² O⁷
P¹ P⁹ P¹¹ P¹⁰ P¹⁷ U⁶ U¹³ V¹ V² W⁴ Z: βῆσαν vulg.: σβῆσαν B C E³ Et L¹⁹ corr.
Mc U² V⁹ V¹⁵ V²⁰ V¹⁶: σβησάν P⁸: μῆσαν L¹⁰ Pal² versum om. P³⁸
533 τάρβην Bm² 534 τῷ δ' ἅρα Bm² τεσσαρ- P¹⁰⁴ 535 πέρην ἀλὸς ἄντα
Ve: πέρην ἀλὸς εὐβοίης Ca¹ L¹⁶ M¹¹ corr. P²¹ S U⁷ V²⁰: ἀλὸς εὐβοίης ἄντα P⁸, γρ.
V⁴ mg. M¹², γρ. ἀλὸς P¹³ (addito in text. ἄντα) ex 626: πόλιν pro πέρην Ma P¹²
536 οἱ δ' Εὐβοῖαν ἔχον καὶ Χαλκίδα τ' Εἰρετριάν τε Strabo 40, 453, 544 θάρακα
§ Dion. Thrac. art. 836 (an. Bekk. ii) ῥήσσειν Strabo 449 δῶν qu. ap. Eu.
(δισυλλάβως) στήθεσσι E¹ L⁹ M¹ M¹² P⁶ P⁹ uv., P¹¹ V²³ Ve V¹ W⁴ Z § Dion.
546 μάλλον οὖν Σύλων Ὅμηρον ἐφώτισεν ἢ Πεισίστρατος, ὥς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν
ἐ' Μεγαρικῶν [F. H. G. iv. 389] ἦν δὲ μάλιστα τὰ ἐπη ταυτί. οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον
καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς Diog. Laert. i. 57

> δῆμον Ἐρεχθίδος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ξείδωρος ἄρουρα,
καδ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνης εἶσεν, ἐφ' ἐν πίοι νηφ'.

ἐνθα δέ μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἀρνειοῖς ἰλάονται
κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν
τῶν αὐθ' ἡγεμόνευ' υἱὸς Πετεῶο Μενεσθεύς.

550

⋈ τῷ δ' οὐ πῶ τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνὴρ
κοσμήσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας·
Νέστωρ οἶος ἔριζεν· ὁ γὰρ προγενέστερος ἦεν·
τῷ δ' ἅμα πεντήκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο.

555

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἦν Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες.

Οἱ δ' Ἄργος τ' εἶχον Τίρυνθά τε τειχιόεσσαν,
Ἑρμιόνην Ἀσίνην τε, βαθὺν κατὰ κόλπον ἐχούσας,

560

548 obelum fort. praem. P² 549 om. P² καδ Apoll. pronom. 135 C : καδ O³ V¹
V¹¹ V¹² : καδ cet. ἀθήνη O⁸ P¹¹ W⁴ ἐν Bm² Bm⁵ O⁽⁵⁾ O⁹ P¹¹ Ve δῆμω pro νηφ' O⁹
P¹¹ V³ V¹ 550 ἰλάσκονται Bm⁷ P¹¹ Ve W⁴ 552 πετεῶο Ar. sec. Eu. 283, 36, ita C
553 ὅτι ξηρόδοτος ἀπὸ τούτου τρεῖς στίχους ἡθέτηκεν S A 556 τεσσαράκοντα O⁹
P¹¹ V³, U¹⁰ ss., cf. 545. Ἀθίδας δ' ἄγων | ἐξηκοντα ναὺς ὁ Θησέως | παῖς ἐξῆς ἐναυλό-
χει Eur. I. A. 247 557 τρισκαίδεκα qu. ap. Eu., Matro 95 in parodia 558 γράφει
δὲ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνος λόγον, ὡς τινες, τὸ ἦν Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο. ἐν γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ οὐκ
εἶχε ποιήσει τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀκολουθία οὕτως οἱ δ' Ἄργος εἶχον S B Lp. φασὶν οἱ μὲν
Πεισίστρατον οἱ δὲ Σόλωνα παρεγγράψαντα ἐν τῷ νεῶν καταλόγῳ μετὰ τὸ ἔπος τοῦτο
Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας ἐξῆς τοῦτο στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἦν Ἀθηναίων
ἴσταντο φάλαγγες μάρτυρι χρήσασθαι τῷ ποιητῇ τοῦ τὴν νῆσον ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἀθηναίους
ὑπάρχειν· οὐ παραδέχονται δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ κριτικοὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖν
αὐτοῖς. [deinde citat N 681 Δ 327-30 Δ 273 Γ 230] οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναῖοι τοιαύτην
τινα σκῆψασθαι μαρτυρίαν παρ' Ὀμήρου δοκοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Μεγαρεῖς ἀντιπαρωδῆσαι οὕτως
Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν νέας ἐκ τε Πολίχνης
ἐκ τ' Αἰγειροῦσσης Νισαίης τε Τριπόδων τε

Strabo 394. Cf. S A Γ 230 παρατητέον ἅρα ἐκείνων τὸν στίχον τὸν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ
ὑπὸ τινων γραφόμενον στῆσε [κτλ.], οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν πλησίον Αἴαντος Ἀθηναῖοι. Plutarchus
vit. Solon. 10 οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῷ Σόλῳ συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι τὴν Ὀμήρου δόξαν
ἐμβαλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔπος εἰς νεῶν κατάλογον ἐπὶ τῆς δίκης ἀναγνῶναι . . . αὐτοὶ
δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα μὲν οἰοῦντα φλυαρίαν εἶναι. Quintilianus v. 11. 40 neque est
ignobile exemplum Megareos ab Atheniensibus cum de Salamine contendere victos
Homeri versu, qui tamen ipse non in omni editione reperitur, significans Aiace
naves suas Atheniensibus iunxisse. Diog. Laert. i. 48 ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασὶ καὶ ἐγγράψαι
αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν κατάλογον τοῦ Ὀμήρου μετὰ τὸν Αἴας δ' ἐκ [κτλ.] στῆσε δ' ἄγων [κτλ.].
S B Lp Eu. 494 καὶ Σόλων τὴν Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναῖοις ἀπένευμε διὰ τὸ Αἴας δ' ἐκ [κτλ.]
προσθεῖς τὸ στῆσε δ' [κτλ.]. cod. C m. s. xv οὗτος ὁ στίχος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σόλωνος τοῦ
σαλαμινίου σοφοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά ἐνός, cf. et S Demosth. xix. 251 versum om. P²
P³⁵ A Ang. Ca¹ E¹ E⁴ Ge L⁴ L¹¹ L¹⁶ L¹⁸ L¹⁹ M¹ M⁴ M¹¹ Ma¹ M² P⁴ P⁶ P⁷ P¹⁰ P¹¹ P¹³
P¹⁷ P²¹ Pal¹ Pal² R¹ V³ V⁶ V¹² V¹³ V¹⁴ V¹⁹ Vj⁵ W³ add. post 561 U² ξένος
marg. L⁶, def. paraphr. V⁴, agnoscunt Ar. Rhet. i. 15, Matro 97 στῆσαντο Vj¹
559 τ' E² L⁶ L¹² P² P⁶ U¹⁰ Vj⁷ Eu. 286. 8 560 ἀσίνην E³ L¹², V¹ corr. E. M.

Τροίξῃν' Ἡϊόνας τε καὶ ἀμπελόεντ' Ἐπίδauρον,
οἳ τ' ἔχον Αἴγιναν Μάσητά τε κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,
τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης
καὶ Σθένελος, Καπανήος ἀγακλειτοῦ φίλος υἱός·
τοῖσι δ' ἄμ' Εὐρύαλος τρίτατος κίεν, ἰσόθεος φῶς, 565
Μηκιστέος υἱὸς Ταλαϊονίδαο ἀνακτος·
συμπάντων δ' ἡγεῖτο βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·
τοῖσι δ' ἄμ' ὀγδῶκοντα μέλαιναι νῆες ἔποντο.

Οἱ δὲ Μυκῆνας εἶχον, ἔυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,
> ἀφνειόν τε Κόρινθον ἔυκτιμένας τε Κλεωνάς, 570
≧ Ὀρνειάς τ' ἐνέμοντο Ἀραιθυρέην τ' ἐρατεινὴν
καὶ Σικυῶν', ὅθ' ἄρ' Ἀδρηστος πρῶτ' ἐμβασίλευεν,
οἳ θ' Ὑπερησίην τε καὶ αἰπεινὴν Γονόεσσαν
Πελλήνην τ' εἶχον ἡδ' Αἴγιον ἀμφενέμοντο
Αἰγιαλόν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα καὶ ἀμφ' Ἑλίκην εὐρεΐαν, 575
τῶν ἑκατὸν νηῶν ἦρχε κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
Ἀτρεΐδης· ἅμα τῷ γε πολὺν πλείστοι καὶ ἄριστοι
λαοὶ ἔποντ'· ἐν δ' αὐτὸς ἐδύσετο νώροπα χαλκὸν
≧ κυδίων, πᾶσιν δὲ μετέπρεπεν ἡρώεσσιν,
≧ οὐνεκ' ἄριστος ἦεν, πολὺν δὲ πλείστους ἄγε λαούς. 580

376. 44 cod. Certaminis 290 corr. : τ' ἀσίην Strabo 372, 376 : E¹ M⁸ M¹² Ma³ O⁹
P¹ P¹⁰ corr. P¹¹ V³ V¹³ V¹² ἔχουσαν L¹² R¹ U² 562 γράφουσιν τινες νῆσον τ'
αἴγιναν ἀντὶ τοῦ οἳ' ἔχον Αἴγιναν, διαστελλόμενοι τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν Strabo 375 : ita
Hesiod. fr. 96. 7, Certamen Hom. et Hes. 292, γρ. Bm⁴ 563 τῶν δ' B Bm⁵ C
E² E³ Et H² L⁵ L⁷ L⁸ L⁹ L¹⁵ L¹⁷ L²⁰ M⁶ M⁷ M⁹ M¹⁰ M¹³ Mc O² O³ O⁶ O⁷ P² P⁵ P⁸ U¹ U³
U¹⁰ V² V⁵ V⁶ V¹¹ V¹⁴ V¹⁵ V²⁰ V²¹ V²⁵ V²⁶ V¹ : δ' αὖ Mo : αὖ V³² V¹² 563 a
τυδείδης οὐ πατρὸς ἔχων μένος οἰνείδαο Certamen 294 565 εὐρύπυλος Cert. 296
E² L⁶ P² Pa² V⁴ V¹⁷ 566 μηκιστέος Bm⁴ E¹ L⁸ L¹⁹ M⁷ Ma¹ O² U¹ V³ V¹² V¹⁸
V¹² : -εω p³⁸ : -ῆος Bm² : -έως cet. 567 ἐκ πάντων Cert. 298 568 a b

ἐν δ' ἄνδρες πολέμοιο δαήμονες ἐστιχόοντο
'Αργεῖοι λινοθώρηκες κέντρα πολέμοιο

Cert. 300, 301, cf. orac. ap. S Theocr. xiv. 48 571 παραιθυρέην Zen. : ἀραθ- E²
L⁹ L¹¹ O⁶ P² 572 ἐβασίλευ(σ)εν vulg. : ἐμβασίλευεν ABm⁶ Bm⁸ E¹ H² L⁶ M¹ M⁴
Ma¹ P⁹ Pa Pal⁽¹⁾ Pe P⁹ P¹¹ U¹⁰ V³ V⁴ V¹³ V²³ V²⁶ V²⁷ V¹ V¹⁵ : ἐμβασίλευσεν p¹⁰⁴ L⁵
Lp M⁷ O² U³ V² V¹⁸ V²⁵ V¹⁶ W¹ πρῶτα βασίλευσεν Bm⁷ M¹⁰ 573 ὑπερησίην p²
p³⁸ et plurimi Αἰγείρας δ' ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ καὶ Πελλήνης πόλισμα ὑπήκοον Σικωνιῶν
Δονοῦσσα καλουμένη ἐγένετο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικωνιῶν ἀνάστατος, μνημονεύειν δὲ καὶ
Ὅμηρον ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι φασὶν αὐτῆς ποιήσαντα ἔπος οἳ θ' ὑπερησίην
[κτλ.], Πεισίστρατον δὲ ἦνίκα ἔπη τὰ Ὅμηρου διεσπασμένα τε καὶ ἄλλα ἀλλαχοῦ μνη-
μονεύόμενα ἦθροίς τότε αὐτὸν Πεισίστρατον ἢ τῶν τινα ἐταίρων μεταποιῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα
ὑπὸ Ἀγροΐας Paus. vii. 26. 13 578 ἐδόσετο Ar. cum codd. paucioribus : -ατο
vulg. 579 πᾶσιν δὲ Zen. Aristarchi altera, lemm. A : ὅτι πᾶσι codd. (καὶ πᾶσι
L¹⁹ P¹⁰ U⁵ U¹³ V³² V¹⁵) 579, 580 ath. Zen. 580, 1, 2 diplas praeft. P³

- ✕ Οἱ δ' εἶχον κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσαν,
 > Φᾶρίν τε Σπάρτην τε πολυτρήρωνά τε Μέσσην,
 Βρυσειάς τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αὐγειαὶς ἐρατεινάς,
 οἱ τ' ἄρ' Ἀμύκλας εἶχον Ἐλος τ', ἔφαλον πολίεθρον,
 οἱ τε Λάαν εἶχον ἡδ' Οἴτυλον ἀμφενέμοντο, 585
 τῶν οἱ ἀδελφεὸς ἦρχε, βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος,
 ἐξήκοντα νεῶν· ἀπάτερθε δὲ θωρήσσοντο·
 ἐν δ' αὐτὸς κίεν ἦσι προθυμίῃσι πεποιθώς,
 ὀτρύνων πόλεμόνδε· μάλιστα δὲ ἵετο θυμῷ
 > τίσασθαι Ἑλένης ὀρμήματά τε στοναχὰς τε. 590
 Οἱ δὲ Πύλον τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἀρήνην ἐρατεινὴν
 > καὶ Θρύον, Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον, καὶ ἔυκτιτον Αἰπύ,
 καὶ Κυπαρισσήεντα καὶ Ἀμφιγένειαν ἕναιον,
 καὶ Πτελεὸν καὶ Ἐλος καὶ Δώριον, ἔνθα τε Μοῦσαι
 ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα παῦσαν αἰοιδῆς, 595
 > Οἰχαλίθην ἰόντα παρ' Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλιῆος·
 > στεῦτο γὰρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν, εἶπερ ἂν αὐταὶ

581 καιετάεσσαν Zen. ad δ ι (δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐντετυχηκέναι τῇ γραφῇ δι' ὧν φησιν ἵππους καιετάεντος ἀπ' εὐρώταο κορίσσαι [fr. 224] § ib.). Cf. Strabo 367 γραφόντων δὲ τῶν μὲν Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσαν, τῶν δὲ καιετάεσσαν, ζητοῦσι τὴν κητώεσσαν τίνα δέχεσθαι χρή, εἴτε ἀπὸ τῶν κητῶν (velut Aelian. N. H. xvii. 6 § A ad h. l.), εἴτε μεγάλην, ὅπερ δοκεῖ πιθανώτερον εἶναι· τὴν τε καιετάεσσαν οἱ μὲν καλαμινθῶδῃ δέχονται, οἱ δὲ ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν σεισμῶν βρωχοὶ καιετοὶ λέγονται, καὶ ὁ καίετας τὸ δεσμοτήριον ἐντεῦθεν τὸ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, σπήλαιον τι· ἐνίοι δὲ κῶους μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα κοιλώματα λέγεσθαι φασιν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ
 φηρσὶν ὀρεσκόφισι.

ib. 233 καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ δὲ κόλπον ἐκείνοι Καίαντα ὠνόμασαν, τὰ γὰρ κοῖλα πάντα καίετας οἱ Λάκωνες προσαγορεύουσιν. Steph. Byz. Κῶς· τὸ ὄρυγμα τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, οὗ καθείργνοντο τοὺς φῶρας καὶ τοὺς δραπέτας. λέγεται καὶ κῶος, κῶες δὲ οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνατραφέντες. κῶος γὰρ τὰ κοιλώματα τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα τὰ σπῆλαια ἔλεγον. Thuc. i. 134 καὶ αὐτὸν [τὸν Πανσάνειαν] ἐμελλον μὲν ἐς τὸν Καίαναν οὐπερ τοὺς κακουργοὺς ἐμβάλλειν γρ'. καὶ τίεσσαν Pal² 582 φάρην Bm⁵ Bm⁷ Bm⁸ E² Ge L¹² L¹⁶ M¹⁰ Ma² Ma³ P² P³ P⁴ P⁵ P⁶ P¹⁰ P¹² P¹³ P¹⁷ P²¹ R¹ V¹² W¹ W³ al. τὰ πλείω τῶν ἀντιγράφων Eust.: φάρτην P⁵ 583 βρυσειας P¹⁰⁴ 584 δ' ἄρα μύκλας L¹⁶ M¹⁰ O² P²¹ R¹ W³ 585 οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἡδ' E² P² P¹ al¹ corr. Steph. in Λα et Οἴτυλος οἱ τῶν Tyrannio (qu. ap. Steph. in v.) E¹ E⁴ Ma¹ O³ P⁶ P¹⁰ P¹¹ P¹² V¹, γρ. Bm⁴: μεταξὺ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Θυρίδων ἀργαρέοις Οἴτυλος ἐστὶ καλεῖται δ' ὑπὸ τινων Βαίτυλος Strabo 360: Βίτυλα audit Ptol. iii. 14. 43: Βαίτυλος in titulis I. G. v. I. 935, 1294, hodie Bitulo, v. Tozer JHS. 1882. 354 Forster BSA. 1904. 160 alios 590, 591 diplas praef. P³ (? ad 589, 590) 592 ἐυκτίμεν' B C E² E³ Et L¹⁷ Mc O² O⁷ P⁵ U¹⁰ U¹¹ V¹² V⁵ V⁹ V¹⁵ V²⁰ V²⁶ V²⁸ (? cum αἰπῇ): ἐυκτιτόν μιν L⁹ O⁶: ἐυκτίμενον Bm⁸ L² Mc P³ P⁸ U³ V⁶ V¹⁵ V²⁶ V²⁶ αἰπύ L⁷ M⁶ P³ P¹⁷: αἰπν Bm⁷ H¹ H²: αἰπύ Ar. Apollodorus A E² L¹⁵ M⁷ U¹ V¹² V²⁴ W⁵: αἰπν Ptol., vulg. haesit Herod. ἐυκτιτον pro proprio nomine, αἰπύ pro epitheto Pherecydes fr. 118 597 ἐρχόμενος C: εὐχόμενον P²¹

- Μοῦσαι ἀείδοιεν, κούραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο·
 > αἱ δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν, αὐτὰρ αἰοιδὴν
 θεσπεσίην ἀφέλοντο καὶ ἐκλέλαθον κιθαριστύν· 600
 τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευε Γερήμεος ἱππότα Νέστωρ·
 τῷ δ' ἐνεμήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐστιχόωντο.
 — Οἱ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ,
 Αἰπύτιον παρὰ τύμβον, ἦν' ἄνδρες ἀγχιμαχηταί,
 > οἱ Φενεόν τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὀρχομενὸν πολύμηλον 605
 Ῥίπην τε Στρατίνην τε καὶ ἡνεμόεσσαν Ἐνίσπην,
 καὶ Τεγέην εἶχον καὶ Μαντινέην ἐρατεινήν,
 Στύμφηλόν τ' εἶχον καὶ Παρρασίην ἐνέμοντο,
 τῶν ἦρχ' Ἀγκαῖοιο παῖς, κρείων Ἀγαπήνωρ,
 ἐξήκοντα νεῶν· πολέες δ' ἐν νηϊ ἐκάσθη 610
 Ἀρκάδες ἄνδρες ἔβαινον, ἐπιστάμενοι πολεμίζειν.
 > αὐτὸς γάρ σφιν δῶκεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων
 > νῆας ἐϋσέλμους περάαν ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον
 > Ἀτρεΐδης, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφί θαλάσσια ἔργα μεμήλει.
 Οἱ δ' ἄρα Βουπράσιόν τε καὶ Ἥλιδα δῖαν ἔναιον, 615
 > ὅσσον ἐφ' Ὀρμίνην καὶ Μύρσινος ἐσχατώσα
 πέτρην τ' Ὀλυνίην καὶ Ἀλίσιον ἐντὸς ἔεργει,
 τῶν αὖ τέσσαρες ἀρχοὶ ἔσαν, δέκα δ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστω
 νῆες ἔποντο θααί, πολέες δ' ἔμβαινον Ἐπειοί.
 τῶν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ Θάλπιος ἡγησάσθην, 620
 > υἱες ὁ μὲν Κτεάτου, ὁ δ' ἄρ' Εὐρύτου, Ἀκτορίωνε·
 τῶν δ' Ἀμαρυγκείδης ἦρχε κρατερὸς Διῶρης·
 τῶν δὲ τετάρτων ἦρχε Πολύξεινος θεοειδής,

599 γρ'. πῆρον ἦτοι τυφλόν Bm⁴, cf. s AB Lp 601 δ' αὖθ' CE² P² P⁹ corr.
 P¹² U¹³ 602 τῶν Ang. Ca¹ L¹¹ L¹⁶ M¹⁰ M¹¹ P³ P⁵ P⁹ corr. P²¹ R¹ S U³ U⁶ U¹⁰
 V⁵ V¹³ V¹⁴ V¹⁸ V²¹ V³¹ 603 sqq. τινὲς δὲ Ἀρκάδα φασιν εἶναι τὸν Στέντορα καὶ
 ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ πλάττουσι περὶ αὐτοῦ στίχους s A Lp in E 785. obelo aut 604
 voluit notare aut pro paragrapho usus est 607] ἐκνηντεῖχον P¹⁰⁴ 612-14 ath.
 Zen. 612 > P² 616 ὑφ' B Bm³ C Et L⁴ Lp M⁷ O² U⁷ P¹² U³ U⁷ U¹¹
 Ὀρμίνην Zen. BC E³ L¹⁸ L¹⁹ M⁹ W⁵: Ὀρμίνην P⁸: Ὀρμίνην L² L³ L¹⁷ ἐσχατώεσσα Bm⁶
 P¹ V³ V¹¹ W⁵ 617 πετρεν P¹⁰⁴ ἀλίσιον Ar. (ad A 757): ἀλίσιον πόλις Hesych.
 inter ἀλισθεῖς et ἀλίσκει: ἀλίσσιον Steph. in v. U¹ ss.: ἀλυσίον H²: ἀλείσιον cet.
 (καλεσίον P¹⁰⁴) 621 ὁ δ' Εὐρύτου vulg.: ὁ δ' ἄρ' A Ma¹ P⁸ P¹¹ V¹ V² V⁵ W³
 W⁴ W⁵: ὁ δὲ L¹⁸ M¹⁰ U¹ ἀκτορίωνε Ar. A Ge L⁴ Ma¹ Mo² P⁴ P⁶ P⁸ M¹¹ ss. S ss.,
 cf. A 750 Ἀκτορίωνε Μολίονε: -os cet. 622 κρατερὸς καὶ ἀμύμων P⁴⁰

νῖος Ἀγασθένης Αὐγυϊάδαο ἄνακτος.

> Οἱ δ' ἐκ Δουλιχίου Ἐχινάων θ' ἱεράων 625

ᾤ νήσων, αἱ ναίουσι πέρην ἁλὸς Ἥλιδος ἄντα,

πῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευε Μέγης ἀτάλαντος Ἀρηί

Φυλεΐδης, ὃν τίκτε Διὶ φίλος ἱππότα Φυλεύς,

> ὅς ποτε Δουλίχιόνδ' ἀπενάσσατο πατρὶ χολωθεῖς·

τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιnai νῆες ἔποντο. 630

— Αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦγε Κεφαλλήνας μεγαθύμους,

οἱ ῥ' Ἰθάκην εἶχον καὶ Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον,

καὶ Κροκύλει' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αἰγίλιπα τρηχεῖαν,

ᾤ τε Ζάκυνθον ἔχον ἡδ' οἱ Σάμον ἀμφενέμοντο,

οἱ τ' ἡπειρον ἔχον ἡδ' ἀντιπέραι' ἐνέμοντο· 635

τῶν μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦρχε Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος·

τῷ δ' ἅμα νῆες ἔποντο δυνώδεκα μιλτοπάρῃοι.

Αἰτωλῶν δ' ἡγεῖτο Θόας Ἀνδραίμονος υἱός,

οἱ Πλευρῶν' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὀλενον ἡδὲ Πυλὴννῃν

Χαλκίδα τ' ἀγχίαλον Καλυδῶνά τε πετρήεσαν· 640

ᾤ γὰρ ἔτ' Οἰνῆος μεγαλήτορος υἱέες ἦσαν,

ᾤ οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' αὐτὸς ἔην, θάνε δὲ ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος·

τῷ δ' ἐπὶ πάντ' ἐτέταλτο ἀνασσέμεν Αἰτωλοῖσιν·

τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιnai νῆες ἔποντο.

Κρητῶν δ' Ἰδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευεν, 645

οἱ Κνωσὸν τ' εἶχον Γόρτυνά τε τειχιόεσαν,

Λύκτον Μίλητόν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Λύκαστον

626 οἱ Zen. L² W¹ Eu. 627 δ' αὐθ' C E⁴ P¹¹ V³ V¹⁶ W⁴ 630 οἱ τ' pro τῷ δ' Strabo 454 631 κεφαλᾶνας μεγαθύμους I. G. iii. 1. 649 633 κροκύλην Strab. 452 Plin. iv. 53, E⁴ corr. Et Ve 634 Σάμην (? Σάμη) Zen. (ἀμετρον ποιῶν schol. A): σάμενον P²¹ gl. τὰ περὶ τὴν σάμον ἀμφεπέποντο BC E³ V¹² 635 ἀντί-περα L¹⁹ S Ve, marg. L¹¹ L¹⁶: ἀντίπεραν Ang. L² L³ L¹¹ L¹⁶ Le¹ M⁷ M¹² M¹³ Ma² Ma³ P⁵ P¹³ P²¹ R¹ U¹⁰ V²⁹, E³ corr. Strab. 453, 461 cod. unus: ἀντιπέρην L⁵ Mo O⁶ corr. V²: ἀντιπέρ V³²: v. om. M⁴ U³ P¹⁰ Pal² O⁹ V³ V⁶ V¹³ V³¹ ἔναιον pro ἐνέμοντο E² P² 641 μεγαλήτορες P² Bm² M⁶ V¹² Herod. de fig. Rhet. gr. viii. 605 cod. unus 641, 2 om. Zen. 642 α καὶ Τυδεὺς ἐν Θήβαις ὅτ' ἀπώλετο λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν Le¹, cf. Z 222, 3 643 ἐτέτακτο Bm⁴ L⁴ L¹⁶ Lp M⁸ M¹⁰ Ma³ Mo² P⁴ P⁵ P¹³ P²¹ uv., R¹ S post h. v. in U¹³ vv. 637, 642, rubrica circumdati m. p., ad utrumque latus ὑπέρ—ἐστι 644 om. P² τέσσερ- P¹⁰⁴ 646 κνωσὸν (δὲ ἐνὸς ὁ Theogn. an. Ox. iii. 72. 10) A E⁴ Lp P¹¹ V¹: -σσόν cet.: τειχήεσαν Strabo 478 647 ἀργινέεντα Bm⁶ Ca¹ L⁴ L¹⁶ M¹¹ Ma² Ma³ Mo² P⁴ P¹³ R¹ S; cf. 656: ἀργυρόεντα H¹ P²¹ κά-μειρον V¹⁵: καμρον P¹⁰⁴, γρ. Bm⁴ (ex 656)

Φαιστόν τε Ῥύτιόν τε, πόλεις εὖ ναιεταώσας,
 > ἄλλοι θ' οἱ Κρήτην ἐκατόμπολιν ἀμφενέμοντο.
 τῶν μὲν ἄρ' Ἰδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευε 650
 Μηριόνης τ' ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυαλίφ ἀνδρείφοντῃ·
 τοῖσι δ' ἄμ' ὀγδώκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο.

Τληπόλεμος δ' Ἡρακλεΐδης ἡὺς τε μέγας τε
 ἐκ Ῥόδου ἐννέα νῆας ἄγειν Ῥοδίων ἀγερώχων,
 οἱ Ῥόδον ἀμφενέμοντο διὰ τρίχα κοσμηθέντες, 655
 Λίνδον Ἰηλυσὸν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Κάμειρον.
 τῶν μὲν Τληπόλεμος δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευεν,
 > ὃν τέκεν Ἀστυόχεια βίῃ Ἡρακληείῃ,
 > τὴν ἄγετ' ἐξ Ἐφύρης ποταμοῦ ἀπο Σελλήεντος,
 πέρσας ἄστεα πολλὰ διοτρεφέων αἰζηῶν. 660

Τληπόλεμος δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τράφη ἐν μεγάρῳ εὐπήκτῳ,
 αὐτίκα πατρὸς ἐοῖο φίλον μήτρωα κατέκτα
 ἤδη γηράσκοντα Δικύμνιον ὄζον Ἄρης·
 αἶψα δὲ νῆας ἔπηξε, πολλὺν δ' ὃ γε λαὸν ἀγείρας
 βῇ φεύγων ἐπὶ πόντον· ἀπείλησαν γάρ οἱ ἄλλοι 665
 υἱέες υἰώνοι τε βίης Ἡρακληείης.

> αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἐς Ῥόδον ἵξεν ἀλώμενος, ἄλγεα πάσχα·
 > τριχθὰ δὲ ᾤκηθεν καταφυλαδόν, ἥδ' ἐφίληθεν
 — ἐκ Διός, ὅς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει,
 > καὶ σφιν θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων. 670

648 ῥυτίον Tyrannio πόλις A Bm⁸ U³ V¹ ναιεταούσας Bm² Bm⁸ U³ V¹² V²⁵
 V²⁶, O⁵ m. r.: -αώσας vulg.: -ώσας Ar. Ma² Ma³ 652 ἐνενήκοντα Diod. v. 79
 (v. l. ὀγδοήκοντα) 656 ἀργιόεντα Ang. Ca¹ L⁴ L¹¹ L¹⁶ M¹⁰ M¹¹ Ma² Ma³ Mo²
 P²¹ R¹ S V²¹ (-ειόενται), V²⁹ corr., cf. 646 κάμειρον B C L² L³ L⁵ L⁹ L¹⁵ L¹⁷ L¹⁸
 L²⁰ Lp Ma¹ O² O⁶ O⁷ P¹¹ U² U⁶ U¹³ Eu. 658 > p² Ὀμηρος ταύτην Ἀστυόχην
 φησὶν οὐκ Ἀστυδάμειαν· εἰκὸς δὲ τὸν Πίνδαρον ἀπαντῆσαι ταύτῃ τῇ γραφῇ ὃν τέκεν
 ἀστυδάμεια (ἀστυόχεια codd.) βίῃ ἡρακλ. s Pind. Ol. vii. 42 b ἡρακλείῃ Zen.
 καὶ ἄμετρον ποιῶν καὶ οὐχ Ὀμηρικὸν τὸ σχῆμα ita C M⁷ M⁹ O³ O⁶ P³ P⁴ P¹¹ R¹ U¹ W³
 659 > p² τηλόθεν Apollodorus ap. Strab. 328, 339 660 διοτρεφέων Lp Mo M¹⁰
 M¹³ O² O⁶ O⁷ V² V³ V¹⁸ V¹⁹ V²⁰ V²⁵ V²⁶ V³² V³¹ V³² V³¹ V³² V³¹
 661 τράφεν ἐν μεγάρ-
 οῖς εὐπήκτων Ve: τράφη ἐν(ι) Bm⁸ L¹¹ L¹² L¹³ L¹⁶ M⁸ U³ U⁷ V²⁵ V²⁶ V³²: τράφετ'
 ἐν Ca² L⁷ L¹⁵ L²⁰ corr. M⁶ V²⁴ V³¹ O² W¹: τράφεν ἐν(ι) E¹, γρ. U¹⁰, M¹ M¹² Ma¹ Mc
 P¹ P⁸ P¹¹ P¹² U² V³ V⁶ V¹¹ V¹³ V¹⁹ V²³ V³¹ W⁴: τράφ' ἐν Bm⁶ H¹ Pa Pe W⁵ 665 ἐν
 τ[ισι] βῇ φευγειν s p²: τὸ μὲν Ὀμηρικὸν ἔθος βῇ φεύγειν προφέρεται, ἀλλ' ὃ γε
 Ἀρίσταρχος οὐ μετέθηκεν ἀλλ' οὕτως γράφει βῇ φεύγων s A 667 αἶψα δ' ἔγ' ἐς
 Ῥόδον Zen. ἦκεν Vi² Strabonis 653 codd. aliquot 668 καφυλαδόν W⁵
 669 ath. Ar.

Νιρεὺς αὖ Σύμηθεν ἄγε τρεῖς νῆας εἵσας,
 Νιρεὺς Ἀγλαΐης υἱὸς Χαρόποιό τ' ἄνακτος,
 > Νιρεὺς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε
 > τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα·
 > ἀλλ' ἀλαπαδνὸς ἔην, παῦρος δέ οἱ εἶπετο λαός.

675

Οἱ δ' ἄρα Νίσυρόν τ' εἶχον Κράπαθόν τε Κάσον τε
 καὶ Κῶν Εὐρυπύλοιο πόλιν νήσους τε Καλύδνας,
 τῶν αὖ Φείδιππός τε καὶ Ἄντιφος ἡγησάσθην,
 Θεσσαλοῦ υἱέ δύο Ἑρακλεΐδαο ἄνακτος·
 τοῖς δὲ τριήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐστιχόωντο.

680

> Νῦν αὖ τοὺς ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον,
 οἳ τ' Ἄλον οἳ τ' Ἀλόπην οἳ τε Τρηχίνα νέμοντο,
 οἳ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἥδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
 > Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί,
 τῶν αὖ πεντήκοντα νεῶν ἦν ἀρχὸς Ἀχιλλεύς.
 ἀλλ' οἳ γ' οὐ πολέμοιο δυσηχέος ἐμνώοντο·

685

οὐ γὰρ ἔην ὅς τις σφιν ἐπὶ στίχας ἡγήσαιο·
 κεῖτο γὰρ ἐν νήεσσι ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,

> κούρης χῳόμενος Βρισηΐδος ἡὔκόμοιο,

> τὴν ἐκ Λυρνησσοῦ ἐξείλετο πολλὰ μογήσας,

690

Λυρνησσὸν διαπορθήσας καὶ τείχεα Θήβης,

κὰδ δὲ Μύνητ' ἔβαλεν καὶ Ἐπίστροφον ἐγχεσιμῶρους,

671 δ' αἰσύνθηεν Ang. Bm² I² L³ L⁴ L¹⁰ L¹¹ L¹² L¹⁶ M⁷ M⁹ M¹⁰ M¹¹ M¹³ Ma² Mo²
 O⁶ P⁴ P⁵ P¹² P¹³ Pal² R¹ S U⁶ V¹¹; cf. Θ 304: αὖ ἐσύνθηεν E¹ Ge Lp M¹ M⁸ M¹² Ma¹
 O⁹ P¹⁰ P¹¹ U² V³ V⁴ V⁶ V²³ V²⁷ V³² V¹: δ' ἐσύνθηεν L¹⁸, L⁹ uv.: δὲ σ. Hermog. rhet.
 gr. iii. 412 Walz.: δ' αἰσύνθηεν V²¹ Trypho rhet. gr. viii. 753 αριστάρχος ἀγε
 δια το ε > P², cf. > S A: ita AB Bm⁴ Bm⁶ Ge L³ L⁴ O³ P²¹ W⁵: ἀγεν cet. 672 ὡς
 Μενάνδροιο > S A: Χαράποιο, ἄποιο codd. τ' om. P Ox. 540 M¹⁰ P¹² P²¹ R¹ Ap. lex.
 in Ἀγλαΐας 673, 675 ath. Zen., 674 omisit 674 om. et Galen. Protr. 8
 674, 675 > P² 675 ἐσπ[ε]το P¹⁰ 676 θάσον L⁴ L¹² Lp M⁷ M¹⁰ Mo² P²¹ R¹ S
 Ve V¹¹ V¹ V⁷: κράσον O⁹ P¹¹ V¹ W⁴: βάσον Bm² Bm⁸ 677 καλύδνας Bm² L⁴ L¹⁵
 L¹⁶ M¹⁰ O² O⁷ R¹ W³ E. M. 486. 28: καλύμνας qu. ap. Eu. 680 τοῖς Ang. B Bm²
 Bm⁸ C D M. r. E² E³ E⁴ Et L² L⁵ L⁶ L⁹ L¹² L¹³ L¹⁷ Lp M¹ M⁴ M⁷ M⁹ M¹¹ M¹³ Mc
 Mo² O² O⁶ O⁷ P² P³ P⁷ P¹² P¹⁷ U¹ U³ U⁶ V¹ V² V⁴ V⁵ V⁶ V⁹ V¹¹ V²⁰ V²⁵ V²⁶ V³² V¹²:
 τῶν cet. 681 οἳ δ' Ἄργος εἶχον τὸ Πελασγικὸν οὐθαρ ἀρούρης Zen. οἳ τ' αὐτοὶ
 ὅσοι Ang. L⁴ L⁵ L¹¹ L¹⁶ R V M⁷ M⁹ M¹⁰ M¹¹ Ma² Mo¹ Mo² P¹ P⁴ P⁽⁶⁾ P¹² P¹³ P²¹ R¹
 V² V¹¹ V²¹ V²⁹: νῦν δ' αὐτοὺς Bm⁴ L⁷ L⁸ L¹⁵ L²⁰ Lp M⁶ P¹ U¹ V²⁴ V³¹ W¹ W⁴ W⁵ ed.
 pr.: νῦν τοὺς φημὶ ὅσοι Vi² 682 οἳ θ' Ἄλον οἳ θ' Ἀλιούνθ' quidam ap. Strab. 432:
 αριστάρχος ἰακὸς τρηχεῖνα νεμοντο > P², cf. > S A τρηχίν' ἐν. codd. 684 δὲ καλοῦντο
 (δ' ἐκ.) Bm² L² M¹³ O⁷ Vi¹ Eu.: τε Bm² L² P¹² 686-94 om. Zen. 690 ἐν Λυρ-
 νησσῷ Zen. 692 ἀ πέρσεν δὲ πόλιν θείοιο Μύντης (T 296) fort. hic legit Strabo 619

υίας Εὐηνοῖο Σελπιάδαο ἀνακτος·

> τῆς ὃ γε κεῖτ' ἀχέων, τάχα δ' ἀνστήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν.

Οἱ δ' εἶχον Φυλάκην καὶ Πύρασον ἀνθεμόεντα,

695

> Δήμητρος τέμενος, Ἴτωνά τε μητέρα μήλων,

> ἀγχιάλόν τ' Ἀντῶνα ἰδὲ Πτελεὸν λεχεποίην,

τῶν αὖ Πρωτεσίλαος Ἀρήϊος ἡγεμόνευε

ζῶδς ἑών· τότε δ' ἤδη ἔχεν κάτα γαῖα μέλαινα.

τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμφιδρυφῆς ἄλοχος Φυλάκη ἐλέλειπτο

700

> καὶ δόμος ἡμιτελής· τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ

νηὸς ἀποθρῶσκοντα πολὺ πρῶτιστον Ἀχαιῶν.

οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἀναρχοὶ ἔσαν, πόθεόν γε μὲν ἀρχόν·

ἀλλὰ σφεας κόσμησε Ποδάρκης ὄζος Ἄρηος,

Ἰφίκλου υἱὸς πολυμήλου Φυλακίδαο,

705

αὐτοκασίγνητος μεγαθύμου Πρωτεσιλάου

ὀπλότερος γενεῇ· ὁ δ' ἅμα πρότερος καὶ ἀρείων

ἥρως Πρωτεσίλαος Ἀρήϊος· οὐδέ τι λαοὶ

δεύονθ' ἡγεμόνος, πόθεόν γε μὲν ἐσθλὸν ἑόντα·

τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο.

710

Οἱ δὲ Φεράς ἐνέμοντο παραὶ Βοιβηΐδα λίμνην,

Βοίβην καὶ Γλαφύρας καὶ ἐϋκτιμένην Ἰαωλκόν,

τῶν ἥρχ' Ἀδμήτοιο φίλος πάϊς ἔνδεκα νηῶν

Εὐμηλος, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀδμήτῳ τέκε δία γυναικῶν

Ἀλκηστις, Πελῖαο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστη.

715

Οἱ δ' ἄρα Μηθώνην καὶ Θαυμακίην ἐνέμοντο

καὶ Μελίβοιαν ἔχον καὶ Ὀλιζῶνα τρηχεῖαν,

> τῶν δὲ Φιλοκτῆτης ἦρχεν τόξων εὖ εἰδῶς

ἑπτὰ νεῶν· ἐρέται δ' ἐν ἐκάστη πεντήκοντα

ἐμβέβασαν, τόξων εὖ εἰδότες ἱφί μάχεσθαι.

720

694 ἀστήσεσθαι fort. Zen. (ἀνατάσασθαι ms.)

697 > p² ἀγχιάλῃν Zen. :

ἀντῶνα Bm^o O⁷ h. Hom. ii. 491 qu. Eu.

701 > p² φαίδιμος Ἑπταρ Dem. Sceps.

ap. Tzetz. in Lyc. 530

707 ἅμα Ag. U¹¹

709 δέ μιν L⁴ L¹⁶ M¹ Ma³ Mo²

P⁴ P⁵ P²¹ R¹ : γε μιν M¹⁰ U¹⁰ V¹²

711 σέρρας pro φεράς s Lp, L¹⁵ interlin.

contra Serrhae Φεραί audiunt ap. Cantacuzenum et Laonicum Chalcondylam

παραὶ

L⁹ L¹⁷ O⁶ p⁷ U¹¹ U¹³ V⁴ V²⁰

ἰδὲ κρήνην ὑπέρειαν s Pind. Pyth. iv 221 καὶ κατ'

ἐνίοις δὲ ἐκδοσις παρ' Ὀμήρῳ οὕτως ἔχει, cf. 73471

3 τωνδ p¹⁰⁴ Bin^o E⁴ V¹

716 ἐρατεινῶν p⁴⁰

717 καὶ Πιτύειαν ἔχον Steph. Byz. in Ὀλιζῶν, cf. 829

Ὀλιζῶνα Nicias

718 τῶν αὖ ἡγεμόνευε Φιλοκτῆτης ἀγὼς ἀνδρῶν Zen.

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν νήσῳ κείτο κρατέρ' ἄλγεα πάσχων,
 > Δήμῳ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ, ὅθι μιν λίπον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν
 ἔλκεϊ μοχθίζοντα κακῷ δλοόφρονος ὕδρου·
 > ἔνθ' ὃ γε κείτ' ἀχέων· τάχα δὲ μνήσεσθαι ἔμελλον
 > Ἀργεῖοι παρὰ νηυσὶ Φιλοκτήταο ἀνακτος.
 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἀναρχοὶ ἔσαν, πόθεόν γε μὲν ἀρχόν·
 > ἀλλὰ Μέδων κόσμησεν Ὀϊλῆος νόθος υἱός,
 τόν ρ' ἔτεκεν Ῥήνῃ ὑπ' Ὀϊλῇ πτολιπόρθῳ.

725

Οἱ δ' εἶχον Τρίκκην καὶ Ἰθώμην κλωμακέεσσαν,
 > οἱ τ' ἔχον Οἰχαλίην, πόλιν Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλίης,
 τῶν αὖθ' ἡγείσθην Ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε,
 ἰητῆρ' ἀγαθῷ, Ποδαλείριος ἡδὲ Μαχάων·
 τοῖς δὲ τριήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐστιχόωντο.

730

Οἱ δ' ἔχον Ὀρμένιον, οἱ τε κρήνην Ὑπέρειαν,
 οἱ τ' ἔχον Ἀστέριον Τιτάνοί τε λευκὰ κάρηνα,
 τῶν ἥρχ' Εὐρύπυλος Εὐαίμονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός·
 τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναι νῆες ἔποντο.

735

Οἱ δ' Ἀργισσαν ἔχον καὶ Γυρτώνην ἐνέμοντο,
 Ὀρθην Ἠλώνην τε πόλιν τ' Ὀλοοσσόνα λευκὴν,
 τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευε μενεπτόλεμος Πολυπόιτης,
 > υἱὸς Πειριθόιο, τὸν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεὺς·
 > τόν ρ' ὑπὸ Πειριθόῳ τέκετο κλυτὸς Ἴπποδάμεια
 ἡματι τῷ ὅτε φῆρας ἐτίσατο λαχνηέντας,
 τοὺς δ' ἐκ Πηλίου ὦσε καὶ Αἰθίκεσσι πέλασσαν·
 > οὐκ οἶος, ἅμα τῷ γε Λεοντεύς, ὄξος Ἄρῃος,

740

745

722 > p² 724 > p² 724, 725 ath. Zen. 727 > p² τοὺς δὲ Μέδων Zen.
 ὁ ἰλῆος M⁶ O⁽⁵⁾ U¹³, cf. 527 728 ὑπὸ ἰλῆι Bm⁶ M⁴ U¹ 729 Ἰθώμην] Strab.
 437 τὴν δ' Ἰθώμην ὁμωνύμως τῇ Μεσσηνιακῇ λεγομένην οὐ φασι δεῖν οὕτως ἐκφέρειν,
 ἀλλὰ τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν ἀφαιρεῖν· οὕτω γὰρ καλεῖσθαι πρότερον νῦν δὲ Θαιαὶ μετα-
 νομάσθαι. Steph. in Ἰθώμῃ· . . . καλεῖται δ' ὁ τόπος τῆς Θετταλικῆς Θώμαιον ἀποβολῇ
 τοῦ ἰ καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ ὦ εἰς τὴν οὐ δίφθογγον, E. M. 470. 10 κλιμακέεσσαν A (i in
 ras.), P⁶ corr. Paus. iv. 9. 2, E. M. Strab. 437 codd. nonnulli: κλημακέεσσαν P⁹ V¹¹,
 U¹⁰ ss. V³² corr., V¹² W⁵ 731 ἀσκληπιοῦ υἱὲ δύο L⁵ Mo M⁹ P¹², cf. Ap. Rhod. ii.
 426 υἱὲ δοῖω 733 τοῖς Ar. codd. (cf. 516): τῶν δε p¹⁰⁴ 738 ἄργεισαν p² A Bm²
 Bm⁶ H¹ L² M⁸ M¹³ P¹ P¹⁰ Pa Pe U¹⁰ U¹³ V¹² V¹³ V¹⁹ V¹² V¹⁵: ῃσαν P⁶: οἱ δ' ἀρ' ἀργ.
 E¹ M¹² Ma¹ U² V³ V⁶ V²³: ἄργειαν Eust. (σπάνιά τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων) γρ. Bm⁴ 741,
 742 > p² 741 ἀθάνατον Zen. 744 αἰθίκεσσι L⁴ L¹¹ L¹⁶ M¹¹ Ma² Ma³ Mo² P⁴ P⁵ P⁶
 P¹³ P²¹ U¹⁰ V¹⁴ V²¹: αἰθιόπεσσι Democritus ad Πηλίου: τὸ λεγόμενον κίσσαβος Bm⁴

υἱὸς ὑπερθύμοιο Κορώνου Καινεῖδαο·

τοῖς δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιnai νῆες ἔποντο.

Γουνεὺς δ' ἐκ Κύφου ἦγε δύω καὶ εἴκοσι νῆας·

τῷ δ' Ἐνιῆνες ἔποντο μενεπτόλεμοί τε Περαιβοί,

οἱ περὶ Δωδώνην δυσχείμερον οἰκί' ἔθεντο,

750

οἳ τ' ἀμφ' ἱμερτὸν Τιταρησσὸν ἔργα νέμοντο,

ὅς ρ' ἐς Πηνειὸν προῖει καλλίρροον ὕδωρ,

οὐδ' ὅ γε Πηνειῷ συμμίσγεται ἀργυροδίνη,

ἀλλὰ τέ μιν καθύπερθεν ἐπιρρέει ἡὔτ' ἔλαιον·

ὄρκου γὰρ δεινοῦ Στυγὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ.

755

Μαγνήτων δ' ἦρχε Πρόθοος Τενθρηδόνος υἱός,

οἱ περὶ Πηνειὸν καὶ Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον

ναίεσκον· τῶν μὲν Πρόθοος θοὸς ἡγεμόννευε,

τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιnai νῆες ἔποντο.

Οὔτοι ἄρ' ἡγεμόνες Δαναῶν καὶ κοίρανοι ἦσαν·

760

τίς τ' ἄρ τῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἦν, σύ μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα,

αὐτῶν ἧδ' ἵππων, οἱ ἅμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσιν ἔποντο.

> Ἴπποι μὲν μέγ' ἄρισται ἔσαν Φηρητιάδαο,

τὰς Εὐμηλος ἔλαυνε ποδώκεας ὄρνιθας ὥς,

ὄτριχας οἰέτεας, σταφύλῃ ἐπὶ νῶτον εἴσας·

765

τὰς ἐν Πηρείῃ θρέψ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων,

746 > p² 747 τῷ E¹ M¹ M⁴ M¹² Ma¹ P¹¹ U² V³ V⁶ V¹³ V¹⁴ V²³ V¹ 748 δυο]

καὶ δέκα [α p¹⁵, cf. Eur. I. A. 278 Αἰνιάνων δὲ δώκεα στόλο ναῶν ἦσαν ὧν ἀναξ Γουνεὺς

ἄρχε. Hyginus fab. 97 Cycnus navibus XII 749 αἰνεῖνες p² p¹⁰⁴ s Soph. El.

706: αἰνῆνες P⁶: αἰνῆνες p Ox. 21 τῷ δ' ἄρ' Ἰωλαιο fortasse v. l. ap. Steph. in

Ἰωλαιο 750 ad Δωδώνην: τὴν βούδιτ' (zan Bm⁴ mg. 751 τιταρήσιον codd.

corr. Bentley 754 αλλο το p¹⁰⁴ γε μὴν Strabo 441 ἐπιτρέχει id. 756 τερθρ-

Bm² Bm⁵ Bm⁸ L¹² L¹⁶ M¹⁰ O² (3) O⁶ O⁷ P²¹ R¹ S W⁵: τεθρ- V¹² 759 τεσσερ- p¹⁰⁴

761 τίς γάρ A mg., Ang. L³ L⁴ L¹¹ L¹⁶ R¹ Mo² M⁸ M¹¹ Pa¹ P²¹ V²¹ W³, cf. A 8:

τάρ pap. Ox. 21: τάρ A: τάρ P⁵ P¹³ τῶν om. L⁶ M⁹ V⁴ V⁵ V⁶ 762 ἀνδρῶν ἧδ'

ἵππων Julian. or. ii. 55 A 763 μὲν γάρ p² ἦσαν B C M⁷ O² O⁶ O⁷ P¹ P¹² V¹²

φερητιάδαο Ve Bm⁸ ss.: φηριτ- O⁽⁵⁾ 765 ἰσετέας E¹ L⁵ L¹⁰ corr., Mo O⁹ P¹¹

V² V¹⁹ V²³ V¹, Ma¹ ss.: ἰσοετέας Ca¹ O² O⁷ V⁹ uv.: οἰέτας Pa V¹: ἰσοετέας gloss. M¹²

O⁹ P⁶ Apoll. ἀτριχας οἰέτεας λαγάνοισ κατὰ lex. Ox. pap. 1086 νῶτον εἴσας

Matro fr. 4: νῶτα Ve V⁴ 766 πηρείη p², lemma s c, Bm⁴ U¹ (ss. ei) Eu.: πηρείη

(η sscr.) V¹: πηρεί (ei et i sscr.) V⁴: Πηρίη πόλις ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ Hesych.: φηρίη Bm⁶

E⁴ H¹ Le¹ Mon. 111 P⁹ Pa Pe, Macrobi. i. 17. 44: φιερίη ex περίη M¹³: πηρείη L¹⁹

U⁵ V¹⁸: πῆρή M¹⁰: περήνη A: περίη (η et ei sscr.) P¹⁷: περίη vulg.: s c τὰς ἐν

Πηρείᾳ θρέψ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων] ἐνιοὶ δὲ ἀγροοῦντες γράφουσιν

τὰς ἐν Πηρείᾳ πλα[νῶνται δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡ μὲν Πηρίη α τῆς Μακεδονίας ἢ δὲ Πήρεια τῆς

Θεσσαλίας: s p Ox. 853 in Thuc. ii. 22 Φαρσάλιοι Πειράσιοι ἀπὸ Πηρείας τὰς ἐν

> ἄμφω θηλείας, φόβον Ἄρηος φορεούσας.

ἀνδρῶν αὖ μέγ' ἄριστος ἔην Τελαμώνιος Αἴας,
 ὄφρ' Ἀχιλεὺς μήνιεν· ὁ γὰρ πολὺν φέρτατος ἦεν,
 ἵπποι θ', οἱ φορέεσκον ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα.
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν νήεσσι κορωνίσιν ποντοπόροισι
 κεῖτ' ἀπομηνίσας Ἀγαμέμνονι ποιμένι λαῶν
 Ἀτρεΐδῃ· λαοὶ δὲ παρὰ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης
 δίσκοισιν τέρποντο καὶ αἰγανέησιν ἰέντες
 τόξοισίν θ'· ἵπποι δὲ παρ' ἄρμασιν οἷσιν ἕκαστος
 λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι ἐλεόθρεπτόν τε σέλινον
 ἕστασαν· ἄρματα δ' εὖ πεπυκασμένα κείμεν ἀνάκτων
 ἐν κλισίῃς· οἱ δ' ἄρχὸν ἀρηϊφίλον ποθέοντες
 φοίτων ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κατὰ στρατὸν οὐδ' ἐμάχοντο.

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν ὥς εἴτε πυρὶ χθὼν πᾶσα νέμοιτο·
 γαῖα δ' ὑπεστενάχιζε Διὶ ὧς τερπικεραυνῷ
 χωομένῳ, ὅτε τ' ἀμφὶ Τυφωεῖ γαῖαν ἰμάσση
 εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνᾶς·
 ὧς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ μέγα στεναχίζετο γαῖα
 ἐρχομένων· μάλα δ' ὦκα διέπρησσον πεδίοιο.

Τρωσὶ μὲν ἡγεμόνευε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἐκτώρ
 Πριαμίδης· ἅμα τῷ γε πολὺν πλείστοι καὶ ἄριστοι
 λαοὶ θωρήσσοντο μεμαότες ἐγχείρῃσι.

> Δαρδανίων αὐτ' ἦρχεν εὖς παῖς Ἀγχίσαιος,

> Αἰνείας, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀγχίσῃ τέκε δι' Ἀφροδίτῃ,

Ἰδῆς ἐν κνημοῖσι θεὰ βροτῶ ἐννηθεῖσα,

πῆρεϊ θρέψ' ἀργυρότοξος· Πῆρεια· Θεσσαλίας χωρίον. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Πηρεὺς Steph. Byz., cf. Eust. 341. 8· οἱ Πηρεῖς I. G. ix. 2. 205 767 > s c 769 φέρτερος
 Ang. Bm⁴ Bm⁶ Ca¹ E² E⁴ H¹ L⁴ L⁶ L¹¹ l¹⁶ Le¹ M¹⁰ M¹¹ Ma³ Ma⁷ Mo² P² P⁴ P⁵ P⁷ P⁹
 P¹² P¹³ P¹⁷ P²¹ Pa Pe R¹ U¹ U¹⁰ V¹ V⁴ V¹⁸ V²¹ V²⁷ V³¹ V¹⁷ W³ Eu.: η κο[ινῇ] φερτερος
 ηεν mg. p², cf. s A 770 θ' αἰ M⁷ M⁹ P¹², γρ. M³ 772 ἀπομηνίσας E¹ O²:
 -ύσας O⁷ V¹⁹: ἐπιμηνίσας Ar. 779 γρ. πυρὸν V³² (? πείραν) 782 τινες χωομενος
 ως απ αλλης αρχης marg. p² τυφωα p² s c s T O 17: τυφῶνι O⁹ P¹¹ 783 Plin.
 Aenaria . . . Homero Inarime dicta, iii. 83; Inarime Verg. Aen. ix. 716
 εἰναρίμοις A (eras. spir.) Bm² Bm⁵ C E³ L⁴ V⁵ V¹¹ θεᾶων pro τυφωέος Et. Flor.
 in Eὐνῇ 783 a χῶρῳ ἐνὶ δρυόνετι Ἰδῆς (ὑλῆς codd. aliquot) ἐν πτόνι δήμῳ quidam
 ap. Strab. 626 784 αἶα E² O⁶ V⁵ V⁹ 785 > s c fort. et p² 819 > s c

οὐκ οἶος, ἅμα τῷ γε δῶα Ἀντήνορος νῆε,
Ἀρχέλοχός τ' Ἀκάμας τε, μάχης εὖ εἰδότε πάσης.

Οἱ δὲ Ζέλειαν ἔναιον ὑπαὶ πόδα νείατον Ἰδης,
ἀφνειοί, πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσήποιο, 825
Τρῶες, τῶν αὐτ' ἦρχε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός,
> Πάνδαρος, ᾧ καὶ τόξον Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν.

Οἱ δ' Ἀδρήστειαν τ' εἶχον καὶ δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ,
καὶ Πιτύειαν ἔχον καὶ Τηρείης ὄρος αἰπύ,
τῶν ἦρχ' Ἀδρηστός τε καὶ Ἀμφιος λινοθώρηξ, 830
νῆε δῶα Μέροπος Περκωσίου, ὃς περὶ πάντων
ἦδεε μαντοσύνας, οὐδὲ οὖς παῖδας ἔασκε
στείχειν ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα· τὼ δέ οἱ οὐ τι
πειθέσθην· κῆρες γὰρ ἄγον μέλανος θανάτοιο.

Οἱ δ' ἄρα Περκώτην καὶ Πράκτιον ἀμφενέμοντο, 835
καὶ Σηστόν καὶ Ἀβυδὸν ἔχον καὶ δῖαν Ἀρίσβην,
> τῶν αὐθ' Ὑρτακίδης ἦρχ' Ἀσιος, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν,
> Ἀσιος Ὑρτακίδης, ὃν Ἀρίσβηθεν φέρον ἵπποι
> αἰθῶνες μεγάλοι, ποταμοῦ ἀπο Σελλήεντος.

Ἴππόθοος δ' ἄγε φῦλα Πελασγῶν ἐγχεσιμῶρων, 840
τῶν οἱ Λάρισαν ἐριβώλακα ναιετάασκον
τῶν ἦρχ' Ἴππόθοός τε Πύλαιός τ', ὄξος Ἀρῆος,
νῆε δῶα Λήθοιο Πελασγοῦ Τευταμίδαο.

Αὐτὰρ Θρηίκας ἦγ' Ἀκάμας καὶ Πείροος ἥρως,
ὅσους Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος ἐντὸς ἔεργει. 845

Εὐφῆμος δ' ἀρχὸς Κικόνων ἦν αἰχμητῶων

823 Ἀρχίλοχος P¹: ἀγχέλοχος O⁽⁵⁾ O⁷ τ' om. P¹⁵ 825 ἀφνειοὶ πίν[ο]ντες
ὑδωρ μ] ε . . . λ . . . μέλαν Ἀνδείροιο, quae varia videtur lectio, s c
826 θηγεμονει P⁴⁰ [om. ἀγλαός] 827 > P² τόξον νοῦν εὖ εἰδώς lemma Ve (?)
828 οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀδρ. P⁴⁰ A Bm⁶ Ge H¹ L¹⁰ Le² M¹ M¹² Ma¹ O⁹ P⁶ P⁹ P¹⁰ Pa Pe U¹ U¹³
V¹ V¹³ V¹⁴ V²³ V³² V¹² V¹⁵ W⁶: δ' ἄρα δρηστειαν E¹ P¹ P¹¹ U² Eust.: αρ[α] δρηστειαν
P⁴⁰: δ' ἀντρήστειαν V⁶ να[ιον] pro τ' εἶχον P⁴⁰ 829 πιτύαν εἶχον Strabo
587, s Ap. Rh. i. 933, iv. 565, Vi²: πιτύαν εἶχον O² O⁶ P⁸ P²¹ 830 > P²
831 περκωδίου (π ex κ) Bm⁴: κερκοπίου Vi² 832 οὐδὲ οὖς P² Ang. H¹ L³ L⁴ L¹¹
L¹⁶ L¹⁹ L²⁰ Le¹ M¹⁰ M¹¹ Ma² Ma³ P⁹ P¹³ P²¹ R¹ V²⁹: οὐδ' εἰός, οὐδὲ εἰός cet.: οὐδ'
εἰός Mo L⁵ C corr. 840 ἐγχεσιμῶρους Ve 842 ὄξω Vi² 844 πείρος
Ve: πείρος Pal²: πείρος Bm⁴ L⁴ ss. L⁸ uv. Le¹ P² P¹⁷ Vi⁷ Eu.: πειρώως P¹⁰: πείρωος
Vi²: πήροος Bm³: πείρεος Bm⁵, cf. Δ 520, 525

νὶὸς Τροϊζήνοιο διοτρεφέος Κεάδαο.

- Αὐτὰρ Πυραίχμης ἄγε Παίονας ἀγκυλοτόξους,
 τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος, ἀπ' Ἀξιοῦ εὐρὺν ρέοντος,
 > Ἀξιοῦ, οὗ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδνεται αἶαν. 850
 > Παφλαγόνων δ' ἡγείτο Πυλαιμένεος λάσιον κῆρ
 > ἐξ Ἑνετῶν, ὅθεν ἡμιόνων γένος ἀγροτεράων,
 οἳ ῥα Κύτωρον ἔχον καὶ Σήσαμον ἀμφενέμοντο
 ἀμφί τε Παρθένιον ποταμὸν κλυτὰ δώματ' ἔναιον
 Κρῶμνάν τ' Αἰγιαλὸν τε καὶ ὑψηλοὺς Ἐρυθίνους. 855
 > Αὐτὰρ Ἀλιζώνων Ὀδῖος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον
 τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη.

- Μυσῶν δὲ Χρόμις ἦρχε καὶ Ἐννομος οἰωνιστής·
 ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰωνοῖσιν ἐρύσατο κῆρα μέλαιναν,
 — ἀλλ' ἐδάμη ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο 860
 — ἐν ποταμῷ, ὅθι περ Τρῶας κεραΐζε καὶ ἄλλους.

848 a Πηλέγονός θ' νὶὸς περιδέξιος Ἀστεροπαῖος ed. Euripidea ut videtur aliaequae ap. Ammonium (Ox. Pap. ii. 221) οἱ μὲν ὑποτάσσουσι στίχον ἐν τῷ τῶν Παιόνων καταλόγῳ Πηλεγονός—Ἀστεροπαῖος. ὃν καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν Ἰλιάδων φέρεσθαι, qu. ap. s T in Φ 140 Eu. 1228. 37 849 ἀμυδῶνος Steph. inter Ἀβυδοὶ et Ἀβυλλοί, eadem Suid., cf. Eust. 360 Ἀξίου codd. praeter B E⁴ M¹⁰ O²: variant Strabonis codd. vid. Kramerum ad 329 fr. 4 850 Ἀξιοῦ E⁴ M¹⁰ O² Strab. καὶ pro οὗ p¹⁰⁴ αἶη Bm⁵ L⁹ L¹⁸ P² V³² Eu.: αἶης qu. Strab. l. c. (μεταγαγράφουσιν): γαίαν M¹², cf. Φ 158 φέρεται δὲ τὸ ἔπος καὶ Εὐδοξος ἀνευ τοῦ ν... αἶα s H³ M⁴ T ad λ 239, ita p¹⁰⁴ Ve: ᾧ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδνεται Αἶης v. l. ap. Strabo vii, fr. 21, 23 852-5 non legunt Eratosthenes et Apollodorus ap. Strabonem 298, 553 852 ἐξ Ἑνετῆς Zen. 853 κύτωρον qu. Eu. 854 ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο Strabo 590 Eu. 855 Αἰγιαλόν τε] Κωβιάλόν τε v. l. ap. Strab. 545, Steph. in Αἰγιαλός Eu.: κωβίαλον s Ap. Rhod. ii. 942: Κωβίαν Steph. in v. Αἰγιαλός: κώβιαλον κρῶμναν τε καὶ ὕληντα κύτωρον Apollodorus ap. Strab. κρῶμναν Zen. Eu. 147. 28 855 a Καύκωνας [δ'] αὐτ' ἦγε Πολυκλέος νὶὸς Ἀμύμων b οἱ περὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν κλυτὰ δώματ' ἔναιον Callisthenes (fr. 28) ap. Strab. 542, cf. s T in Υ 329 (Ἀμειβος pro Ἀμύμων) Eu. videtur legisse Apollodorus, ib. 678: κατὰ pro v. l. Eu. 856 > p² τούτους [τοὺς Χάλυβας] οἶμαι λέγειν τὸν ποιητὴν Ἀλιζώνων... ἥτοι τῆς γραφῆς μεταθεσίσης ἀπὸ τοῦ τηλόθεν ἐκ Χαλύβης ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρότερον Ἀλύβων λεγομένων ἀντὶ Χαλύβων Strabo 549: ὑπονοεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Σκήψιος τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος μετάπτωσιν ἐξ Ἀλύβων ἐς Χαλύβας id. 530 ἀμαζώνων Ephorus ap. Strab.: ἀλαζώνων Palaephatus ap. Dem. Sceps. ap. Strab.: ἀλλιζώνων pro vero nomine Menecrates ib.: ὀλιζώνων ap. Strab. invenit Eu. ὀδῖος E⁴ Ge L² L⁴ L¹³ L²⁰ O⁷ O⁹ P⁴ P⁸ P¹¹ R¹ U¹ U¹¹ U⁶ V¹⁸ V¹⁹ V¹²: ὀδῖος Bm⁶ L¹² L¹⁶ M⁷ M¹⁰ P²¹ U² W³: ὀδῖος Lp W⁴ 857 Ἀλόπης Ephorus l. c. Palaeph. (ἡ μεταγραφὴ δὲ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀντιγράφων τῶν ἀρχαίων πίστιν καινοτομονμένη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον σχεδιασμῷ ὅκειεν Strab. l. c.): Ἀλόβης qu. ib., Menecrates ap. Eu.: Χαλύβης qu. ap. Strab.: ὅθ' Ἀμαζονίδων γένος ἐστὶ Ephorus ap. Strab. et Steph. in Ἀλόπη: cf. Eu. ἀλέβης P⁹: κελέβην ἀλυβηίδα Euphorion in s Theocr. ii. 2: Ἀλύβων et Χαλύβων qu. ap. Eu. 858 > p² 859, 860, 861—p² 860, 861 ath. Ar. 861 χρ]υσον δαίλευσ εκομισ[ex 875 p¹⁰⁴

- Φόρκυς αὖ Φρύγας ἤγε καὶ Ἀσκάνιος θεοειδὴς
 > τῇλ' ἐξ Ἀσκανίης· μέμασαν δ' ὕσμινι μάχεσθαι.
 Μῆοσιν αὖ Μέσθλης τε καὶ Ἀντιφος ἡγησάσθην,
 υἱε Ταλαιμένους, τῷ Γυγαίῃ τέκε λίμνη, 865
 οἱ καὶ Μήονας ἤγον ὑπὸ Τμῶλῳ γεγαῶτας.
 > Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων,
 οἱ Μίλητον ἔχον Φθιρῶν τ' ὄρος ἀκριτόφυλλον
 Μαιάνδρου τε ροὰς Μυκάλης τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα·
 τῶν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ Νάστης ἡγησάσθην, 870
 > Νάστης Ἀμφίμαχός τε, Νομίονος ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
 > ὃς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμόνδ' ἔεν ἡὔτε κούρη,
 νήπιος, οὐδέ τί οἱ τό γ' ἐπήρκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον,
 — ἀλλ' ἐδάμη ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδῶκεος Αἰακίδαο
 — ἐν ποταμῷ, χρυσὸν δ' Ἀχιλεὺς ἐκόμισσε δαΐφρων. 875
 Σαρπηθὼν δ' ἦρχεν Λυκίων καὶ Γλαῦκος ἀμύμων
 τηλόθεν ἐκ Λυκίης, Ξάνθου ἄπο δινήμεντος.

864 μέστρης qu. ap. Eu. 865 πυλαιμένους Strab. 626 Ang. Bm² Ge L² L³
 L⁴ L⁵ L¹¹ L¹³ L¹⁶ L¹⁸ L¹⁹ Le¹ M¹ M⁷ M⁹ M¹⁰ M¹¹ M¹³ Ma² Ma³ Mc Mo¹ P⁴ P⁵ P⁷ P⁸ P¹²
 P¹³ P²¹ R¹ S U¹ U⁶ U⁷ U¹⁰ V² V³ V⁶ V²³ Vi² : τελαμώνους V⁵ mitto itacismos.
 τῷ p¹⁰⁴ lemma A γυγαίη . . . λίμνη Ar. : γυγαίη . . . λίμνη Chaeris Diodorus al. :
 γυγαίη A : γυγαίη V¹⁴ : γυγαίη λίμνη M⁹ O³ P⁹ : λίμνη H² γράφεται δὲ ἐν τοῖς
 σχολίοις καὶ ὅτι ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ ἔκδοσις ἀντὶ τοῦ γυγαίη λίμνη γυραίως [ita ed. Eust.
 Romana] εἶχεν Eu. : ἐν τ[ισι] γυραιη τεκε s p¹² : λεγούσι δὲ καὶ στίχον λελοιπέναι
 τὸν σημαίνοντα τὸ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς τῶν βηθέντων στρατηγῶν Eu. 866 a [= T 385]
 Τμῶλῳ ὑπὸ νυφόντι ὕδης [ὑλης codd. Strab. aliquot] ἐν πίοι διήμῳ add. qu. Strab.
 626 : ἡ δὲ κατ' Εὐριπίδην . . . γράφει τέταρτον τοῦτον Eu. : a Maconiiis civitas ipsa
 Hyle vocitata est, clara stagno Gygæo Plin. N. H. v. 110 867 μάσθλης Strabo
 661, cf. v. 864 : ναύστης Eu. ἀργιοφώνων interpr. L⁴ : ἀγριο- pro glossa L¹³ :
 ἀκριτόφωνοι· βαρβαρόφωνοι Ap. lex., cf. θ 294 868 φθιρῶν A B Bm⁶ Bm⁸ C E³
 E⁴ H¹ L⁹ L¹⁰ L¹² L¹⁷ Le¹ O⁶ P² P⁵ P⁷ P⁹ Pal⁽¹⁾ U⁵ Vi² Herod. ap. Choerob. ap. Eu.,
 Choerob. in Theod. 86. 16 utrumque E. M. 792. 43 870 ναύστης C E³
 872 > p² κίεν Ve Clem. Alex. paed. ii. 12. 12 873 νηπίη Clemens
 875, 876 — p²
 βῆτα δ' ἀγορὴν καὶ νῆας ἀριθμεῖ p¹² : βοιωτία εἴληφε τέρμα τοῦ λόγου Pal² : τέλος
 τῆς ὁμήρου βοιωτίας H² : τέλος τοῦ καταλόγου Ma² : τέλος τῶν ἐπῶν καὶ ἱστοριῶν τῆς
 βοιωτίας U⁶

INTRODUCTION

I

LITERATURE.

FOR the literature of the Catalogue we need not go further back than Benedikt Niese, *Der homerische Schiffskatalog als historische Quelle betrachtet*, Kiel, 1873, pp. 59. Written, as I said in my paper in the *J. H. S.*, at the darkest moment of ancient historical study, before the first excavations had been made, this book would need no mention but that—perhaps as being the only methodical treatment of the Catalogue—it established a kind of vulgate opinion still held in some quarters. In 1881 some remarks on Niese were made by E. Rohde, *Rh. Mus.* 36, p. 572, but effective criticism as was natural first came from the historical side. E. A. Freeman, in his *Historical Geography of Europe*, 1882, i, pp. 26–9, recognized the historicity of the Catalogue: ‘it is clear that the Catalogue must represent a real state of things. It gives us a map of Greece so different from the map of Greece at any later time that it is inconceivable that it can have been invented at any later time’ (p. 26): ‘we see the extent which Greek civilization had already reached. It had as yet taken in only the southern islands of the Aegean’ (p. 28). He expressed himself similarly in other works: e.g. *Historical Essays* (Second Series), 1873, pp. 60 sqq. ‘we have never doubted for a moment that the Catalogue in the *Iliad* is a real picture of the Greek geography of the time’—‘every time I read the Homeric Catalogue I am the more convinced that we have in it a real picture of early Greek geography. No conceivable motive can be thought of for its invent at any later time’. In 1886 D. B. Monro in the first volume of the *English Historical Review* developed this view of the question, and added to Freeman’s position by showing how the Catalogue preserved a period of history at variance with the local legends of some countries, a period possibly transient.

In 1904 Albert Gemoll, *Der homerische Schiffskatalog*, Striegau,

in a programme of seven pages, noted that in his later Homeric works Niese gave up several of his views. Various general remarks were offered which it is a pity were not continued. In 1910 I published a paper of thirty pages in the *J. H. S.* vol. xxx in which I compared the principal features of the Greek and Trojan Catalogues with heroic ethnography, and endeavoured to show that the Homeric and the archaeological pictures corresponded. The present book is an expansion of that paper. The year before C. Robert in *Hermes* 44. 632 put out the curious view that the description of Ithaca is a repetition of the description of Circe's island. These methods are happily extinct. In 1912 (preface, Dec. 1, 1911) Mr. Chadwick of Clare College, Cambridge, devoted pp. 244-8 of his *Heroic Age* to an examination of the Trojan Catalogue. He started from the assumption that the Homeric Trojan Catalogue was taken from that in the Cypria. Shortly after my paper Messrs. Wace and Thompson published the results of their Thessalian excavations (*Prehistoric Thessaly*, 1912) in which, pp. 253 sqq., there are some remarks on this question. Mr. Thompson also published in the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vol. v, no. 1, a very useful list of early sites and their evidence, called *The distribution of Mycenaean remains and the Homeric Catalogue*. In 1912 Mr. W. Leaf published his *Troy*, in which and in Mr. Leaf's articles (in the *B. S. A.*) on the same subject there is much valuable topographical information about the Troad and the adjacent parts of Asia Minor, due mostly to Mr. Leaf's own observation. This book as well as my paper have had the advantage of the criticism of a trained archaeologist in the brief work of Monsieur Félix Sartiaux, *Troie. La guerre de Troie et les origines préhistoriques de la question d'Orient*, 1915.

Towards the end of 1915 Mr. Leaf produced a companion book on the Greek Catalogue, entitled *Homer and History*. With this I find myself in complete disagreement, both in general and in particular. The collection of topographical information is less valuable than in *Troy*; the reasoning seems to me entirely false. Mr. Leaf's conclusions rest on two hypotheses, both to say the least singular; that the Catalogue and the rest of the poems give a different and irreconcilable picture of the Greek world; and that the Catalogue owes its origin to a historian whose aim it was to give the smaller communities and outlying heroic individuals a place in the Trojan war. The former contention I deal with under the various sections where it is necessary; for the second I may refer to pp. 100, 143.

In the last few years a number of papers have been published on Homeric geography and similar subjects by Mr. A. Shewan. The author will I hope forgive me if the following is not a complete list: 1914 *J. H. S.* 34. 227 *Leukos-Ithaca*. 1916 *C. R.* 30. 80 sqq. review of Leaf's *Homer and History*. 184 sqq. *The Dominion of Peleus*. 1917 *ib.* 7 sqq. *The Assembly at Aulis*, 31. *C. Q.* xi. 146 sqq. *The Kingship of Agamemnon*. *Classical Philology*, 132 sqq. *Beati Possidentes Ithakistae*. *ib.* 1918, 321 sqq. *Scheria-Corcyra*.

If anything else has been written in foreign countries on this subject since 1914 I am unaware of it. For excavations I have usually thought it sufficient to refer to Mr. Thompson's article in *Liverpool Annals*, and to the second edition of Monsieur Dussaud's charming book, *Les Civilisations préhelléniques*, ed. 2, 1914.

The subject raises the whole Homeric Question, and as I am unable to deal with so boundless a theme in this book, I will here explain the position from which I approach the Catalogue. I have endeavoured to establish it elsewhere. I hold that Homer lived about 950-900, in Chios or Smyrna, and compiled two poems on parts of the Trojan war out of already existing material which in our ignorance we may call equally well Chronicle or Saga, and which is roughly represented to us, for the other parts of the war, by the Epic Cycle.¹ He wrote them in his own language, the dialect spoken in Chios.² The oldest part of Hesiod (the Works) I date at 800, the Theogony and Catalogi at 750-700;³ the Cycle I refer to its traditional dates, viz. from 750-600, that is from the time of the oldest poems, the Cypria and Aethiopis, to the youngest the Telegonia.⁴ Both Hesiod and the Cycle had a limited reflex action on the Homeric text, consisting practically of the kind of insertions which the Alexandrians detected. The last book and a half of the Odyssey may be a larger addition.⁵ I regard the tradition of a Pisistratean or Athenian recension as a figment put out by Megarian antiquarians of the fourth century for political reasons, and accepted by the Pergamene grammarians to disparage the Ptolemaic museum.⁶ I accept the statements of the appeals made to the Catalogue by the Athenians and other states from the early sixth century downwards,⁷ and infer that what-

¹ *J. Ph.* xxxi. 207 sqq.

² Giles, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 1916, *Was Homer a Chian?*

³ *J. H. S.* xxxv. 85 sqq.

⁵ *C. Q.* 1913, 221 sqq.

⁴ *C. Q.* 1908 64 sqq., 81 sqq.

⁶ *Ib.* 33 sqq.

⁷ Viz. in the dispute with Mitylene over Sigeum (Herod. v. 94), at Syracuse before Salamis (*ib.* vii. 161), and the Phocian claim to Delphi at the time of the

ever causes produced the Catalogue as we have it, these causes had long concluded their work before the period when the document was invoked as an international authority.

I use the names 'Achaean' and 'Greek' in their conventional sense, to denote the inhabitants without distinction of the area later known as Hellas. By the Dorian Migration I mean the movement known in antiquity as the Return of the Heraclidae, which produced throughout Greece the political conditions under which we know the country; by 'Dorian' I understand the race which we find the governing clan in Thessaly, Boeotia, Megara, Argos, Lacedaemon. This was the Greek usage, for instance of Pindar, who (*Pyth.* v. 70) makes Argos, Sparta, and Pylos settled by the sons of Heracles and Aegimios, declares (*Pyth.* x. 1) that Spartans and Thessalians were the same stock, and (*Isthm.* vii. 17) that Sparta was settled by the Aegidae (see also Ephorus fr. 11 and Aristotle *Λακ. πολ.* fr. 489).

Our ignorance of the meaning of the heroic names Achaean, Danaan, and Argive is all but complete. To argue from their presumed meaning is to build on the sand. I have given an opinion on some of these points elsewhere.¹ Here I base no conclusion on a diversity of race. The Catalogue should be treated without presumptions; and our conclusions may themselves throw some light on these terms.²

II

OTHER CATALOGUES

This, though known as the Catalogue, was not the only one. The Hesiodic corpus largely consisted of Catalogi, but not of ships and forces: Hesiod's Catalogues are of heroes and heroines. But as they are concerned with the heroic age, they introduce not unfrequently the Homeric personages, and traces of their reflex effect upon Homer may be seen in the v. ll. on the Argive section (562 sqq.). The Hesiodic Catalogi appear in the general corpus to have come

sacred war (Diod. xvi. 23). The other cases given in schol. B on B 494 cannot be verified, though their probability is not thereby impaired: viz. the claim of the Aetolians to Calydon, of the Abydeni to Sestos, and of the Milesians against the Prieneans to Mycaleusus.

¹ *C. Q.* 1909, 81; *C. R.* 1911, 233.

² For ἄργος and ἀργεῖοι see pp. 73, 108.

next to the *Theogonia*, to judge from the expressions *Theog.* 1021, 1022. They may, therefore, belong to the latter part of the eighth century.

The *Cypria*, that eighth-century poem of an uncertain native of Cyprus, contained at the end of it (it is the last item in Proclus' abstract) *κατάλογος τῶν τοῖς Τρωσὶ συμμαχουσάντων*. As the poem has perished and the Egyptian sands refuse to restore it to us, we shall never know what the Cyprian Trojan Catalogue contained, but we can make a conjecture if we take into account all the conditions. It is singular at first sight that Stasinus or Hegesias should have inserted a Trojan Catalogue in his poem when there was one already in the *Iliad*; ¹ singular also that if he made a Trojan Catalogue he did not make a Greek one too, and that if respect for Homer worked upon him at one place it did not in another. Still there are obvious differences between the two Catalogues as we find them in Homer. The Greek list is ample and detailed; in later times it became a title, and was protected by vested interests and jealousy. The Trojan Catalogue is scanty and uninforming, and it affected no one's claims and interests. In the colonial period, when the Greeks and their poets enjoyed a considerable acquaintance with the coasts and even the interior of Asia, it may have seemed inadequate and doing little credit to the Father of epos. Now the Cyclic poets had no objection to anachronism; they enlarged the heroic world to include their own knowledge; both the *Cypria* and the *Aethiopis* regard the Euxine as open to heroic personages.² If then we find in the *Cypria* a new Trojan Catalogue but no new Greek one, we may conclude that the writer used his own advantages to give ample particulars of the Trojan forces and their homes, and probably a longer list of allies—Rhesus, Penthesilea, Memnon, Eurypylus. This is in substance the view of Gemoll, l. c. p. 5, and Monro, *Odyssey* xiii–xxiv, p. 351.

Reciprocally the *Cypria* Catalogue may perhaps have influenced the Homeric, as we shall see in the case of *Paphlagonia* (p. 153).

The next Catalogue is in the *Iphigenia in Aulis* of Euripides.³ The Chalcidian women who form the chorus tell us in the first stasimon (231 sqq.) that they paid a visit to the Greek fleet at Aulis. They describe the constituents and the arrangement of the armada. Its arrangement is that of the *ναύσταθμος* in Homer; that is to say it

¹ That the *Cypria* presupposes the existence of the *Iliad* is plain from the point at which it ends.

² The *Cypria* (arg.) utilizes the *Tauri*, the *Aethiopis* (arg.), the island *Leuce*.

³ See my paper on this, *C. R.* 1901, 346 sqq.

begins with Achilles and ends with the Salaminian Ajax. We therefore no longer have the geographical survey, disposed in zones, which Homer gives us. The list is also less than half as long as that in Homer. This may be due to the exigencies of drama, but there are several other differences in the numbers of the contingents and in their leaders. The Argives are reduced from 80 to 50, and Diomedes is omitted. The Athenians are raised from 50 to 60, Menestheus their Homeric leader is gone, and in his place we have ὁ Θησέως παῖς, which of the two is not stated. Guneus' Enienes are reduced from 22 to 12.¹ The Taphians are new. In Homer they are outside the pale; but as Euripides gives them the Dulichian leader Meges, he presumably identified Dulichium and Taphos. He adds that they were dependent on the Eleans, which suits Dulichium. (Unless, indeed, we can suppose that Euripides, whose archaeology was of the worst, confused Meges and Mentes.) I made in my article the obvious connexion between this Euripidean Catalogue and the Euripidean edition of Homer.² What, however, did the elder or the younger Euripides intend by these variants? and where did he get them? Clearly the edition was in the Athenian interest. By far the most important variant is that which sent one of Theseus' sons to Troy. The absence at Troy of the generation following their national hero preoccupied Athenian opinion; the dynastic succession also was obscure. Already in the Ἰλίου πέρσις (arg. Proc. and fr. iv) Acamas and Demophon, Theseus' sons, appear before Troy, though on what grounds Arctinus included them is not clear. Was Miletus tender to Athens, as Megara at the same period coerced Hesiod (e.g. fr. 96. 8)? The dramatists know the Thesidae at Troy (Soph. *Phil.* 562, Eur. *Hec.* 125, *H. F.* 35, *Troades* 311), and it is natural that these points of detail should appear in an Euripidean edition of Homer.³ Perhaps it was from the Cycle that Euripides transferred the Thesidae to Homer; or he may have had predecessors: but the emendation was comparatively recent if the Athenian deputation alleged Menestheus before Gelo, and if he appeared in the epigram on those who fell at the Strymon (Aeschines, iii. 185). With this back way for the return of the national hero's children it was but one step further to

¹ So also p¹⁵ and Hyginus fab. 97.

² There are possible allusions to this edition in the beginning of Satyrus' life of Euripides, *Ox. Pap.* 1176 fr. 6. 4 *καιρωσεων οθωνων* (see the ancient vv. ll.), 9 *ανοπατα*.

³ See also Hellanicus fr. 75; Euphorion, p. 125 Meineke; Hegesippus of Micyberna, *F. H. G.* iv. 424; Dionysius cyclographus ap. schol. Eur. *Hec.* 123 (*F. H. G.* iv. 653).

obliterate Menestheus altogether. In Apollodorus, epit. 5. 15 b, he takes Melos, and dies there, according to Eusebius, *Canon* 128.¹ Another account (Strabo 261) makes him colonize Scyllaceum, whereby he is equally removed from Athens. He had owed his kingdom to the Tyndaridae, who expelled Theseus' sons and Aethra.² He was an Erechtheid (Paus. ii. 25. 6), and Peteos his father is a rich man in Hesiod fr. 94. 44. This touch seems to give the post-Homeric and colonial explanation of his rise to power.

Euripides' substitution of the Taphians for the Δουλιχίαις is also interesting. We do not know what logographer Euripides followed—not Pherecydes, Hellanicus, or Andron³ (Strabo 456). There were poems on these localities, the Θεσπρωτία or Θεσπρωτίς, the Τηλεγονία, and Eumelus probably took the past of the Corinthian colonies under his care. Euripides may have found in this kind of literature the authority for appointing Meges to rule the Taphians.

Further, it is not plain why Adrastus is given Agamemnon as a companion. Moreover, the figureheads of the ships and the Nereids who attend Achilles are post-Homeric.

Lastly, in the Elean section Euripides may have read Εὔρυτος for Θάλλιος, and in the next line Εὔρυτος Ἀκτορίωνος.

Another source for these alterations and attempts to alter appears in the Demosthenic *Epitaphios* lx. 29 ἐμέμνηντο Ἀκαμαντίδαι τῶν ἐπῶν ἐν οἷς Ὀμηρος ἔνεκα τῆς μητρὸς φησιν Αἰθρας Ἀκάμαντα εἰς Τροίαν στέλλαι. The tribal tradition asserted itself, but by what means is not plain. Did the Acamantidae propound an Iliad similar to that of Euripides, or did they rely on the *Iliupersis* (arg. Proc.)? or had they, like the Lycomidae (Paus. ix. 27. 2) 'hymns' or encomia of their ancestor? The first hypothesis is the most probable.

Apollonius of Rhodes has a Catalogue of his heroes, Arg. i. 23 sqq. It recounts, of course, the heroes who sailed to Phasis to recover the Golden Fleece, and therefore deals with events according to heroic chronology about a generation before the Trojan war. On this scheme it is for the most part consistent with the Homeric details. In two points only it is anachronistic: Miletus (185) is under Erginus son of Posidon, and Samos (paraphrased as Ἰμβρασίης ἔδος Ἦρης

¹ The authorities Eusebius names are Polyhistor, Apollodorus, Philochorus, Cephalion, Phanocles.

² Aelian, *V. H.* iv. 5. The Thesidae are made to colonize on their νόστος (Plut. *Solon* 25; Steph. Byz. in *Σύνναδα*).

³ Andron's age is unknown.

Παρθενίην) under Ancaeus. Miletus in Homer is Carian, Samos is not mentioned. It is not obvious what particular reason prompted Apollonius to take these liberties with heroic history, rather, for instance, than to favour Rhodes, but he yields to the general tendency.

His list of Paphlagonian coast-towns (ii. 936 sqq.) does not stand in any relation to the Paphlagonian paragraph in Homer, and certainly does not presuppose its existence as we now have it. It includes Cape Carambis and Sinope, the absence of which is conspicuous in Homer. The passage, however, was used to alter the Διάκοσμος; for Αιγιάλον some read Κρωβιάλον (schol. Ap. Rhod.), or Κωβιάλον (Strabo 545). See ad l.

The Argonautic Catalogues in Valerius Flaccus and Orpheus are for the most part copies of that in Apollonius. Occasionally they provide a variant.

The Catalogue in Apollodorus, the mythographer (*Epit.* 3. 11 sqq.), is the Homeric, saving a few variants in the numbers. The Boeotians have 40 ships instead of 50, the Pylians 40 for 90, the Arcadians 7 for 60, the Cretans 40 for 80, the Gyrtionians under Polypoetes 30 for 40. We cannot say how far clerical error is responsible for these curtailments, or what the curtailments, if they are genuine, mean. The sum total is diminished, as in Euripides.

There are also some variants in the number of the leaders. The moment of the Catalogue is the meeting at Aulis. The parentage of the heroes is regularly given, as doubtless it had been in the earlier works (Damastes, Polus, Aristotle).

C. Julius Hyginus, 'Augusti libertus', devotes several of his 'fabulae' to the Trojan war.¹ No. xcvi has the title *qui ad Troiam expugnatum ierunt, et quot naves*. This gives a singular Catalogue, but of which we may say at once that no new source seems behind it, and no endeavour to introduce new races or personages. The text is corrupt towards the end (after the entry *Thoas Andraemonis*), and the numerals may be presumed to have been badly transmitted in many cases. Hyginus' peculiarities, or those of his source, are (1) he splits up the contingents among the leaders according to Homer sharing the command: he went perhaps on the pattern of the Eleans, where each of four chiefs has ten ships. At all events he gives separate contingents to Achilles, Automedon, Patroclus; to

¹ See Schneidewin and M. Schmidt, ll. cc., and the edition of M. Schmidt, 1872.

Agamemnon and Menelaus; to Diomede and Sthenelus; to Nestor, Thrasymedes, and Antilochus; to Machaon and Podalirius; to Idomeneus and Meriones; to Leitus, Chronius, Penelios, Arcesilaus, and Prothoenor (whom he derives from 'Thespia'); and to Ajax and Teucer. We also find Phoenix with a force of 50. This arrangement it is plain, does not seriously infringe the Homeric document, and is the result of a quaint effort at modernization. (2) The *places* assigned to the contingents vary extensively from Homer's: Menelaus, Amarynceus, and Tlepolemus come from Mycenae; Achilles and Automedon from Scyrus, Prothoenor from Thespia; and Argos ('Argis') is assigned as country of origin to as many as Eurytus, Schedius, Ialmenos and Ascalaphus, Elephenor, 'Cycnus' (= Guneus),¹ Nireus, and Polypoetes, thus extinguishing the rights of Elis, Phocis, Orchomenus, Euboea, Perrhaebia, Cos, &c., and the Lapith country. The meaning of these singular dispositions can hardly be divined. (3) The numbers of the contingents vary a great deal: some are less, some greater than the Homeric. It seems impossible to find a principle (the Eleans amount to 84 against 40), especially as some must be due to corruptions.

The Catalogue in the writer known as Dictys Cretensis exists in two states, in the Latin version which comprehends the whole author (ed. Meister, 1872) and in Greek in the *Chronographia* of Joannes Malalas, book v, pp. 107-8, ed. Bonn, 1831. A portion of the original was published in the Tebtunis papyri, vol. ii, 1907, pap. 268, corresponding to iv. 9-15 of the Latin.²

Dictys is one of four works dealing with the Tale of Troy which went under the names of heroic personages. Two of the four survive, Dictys and Dares, the latter in Latin only (ed. Meister, 1873). The other two have perished. Sisyphus of Cos was used by Malalas (s. vi) on the subjects of the Cyclops, Circe and the Νόστροι: he was, according to Malalas (p. 132. 19 Bonn), the source of Homer and Virgil. Corinnus rests on the notice in Suidas, where similarly he is one of Homer's sources. His name is a variant on Κόριννα in schol. Nicand. Ther. 15.

I made some suggestions (*J. Ph.* xxxi. 207) on the kind of authority there may be in Dictys, and propounded the view that behind him

¹ The number (12) coincides with the Euripidean (*I. A.* 278) and the papyrus (P¹⁵) number of Guneus' ships.

² Thus fulfilling the prayer of Leone Allacci, *de patria Homeri*, ed. Gronov, p. 1745.

(and presumably the other three also) there may ultimately lie the pre-Homeric tradition or Chronicle displaced in ordinary usage by the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

The Greek Catalogue in the Latin version of Dictys is to be found at i. 17. He openly asserts that it is the list of the contingents at Aulis: *ad Aulidam Boeotiae, nam is locus delectus fuerat*, in so far following Apollodorus. The places, numbers, and commanders are all Homeric. Variations are that the Arcadian contingent is described as *aliasque quas ex diversis civitatibus quae sub eo erant contraxerat, quis Agapenorem praefecit*: the nationality disappears and the dependence on Agamemnon is emphasized. The domain of Achilles is called *Pelasgicum*; Nisyrus, Carpathus, Casos, Cos, and the Calydnæ go down as *insulae congregatae*. But at the end we find important additions; for the first time we have, here, a document presenting an enlarged Catalogue. The additions are (1) *Thessandrus Thebis naves L.* (2) *Calchas ex Acarnania XX.* (3) *Mopsus Colophona XX.* (4) *Epius ex insulis Cycladibus XXX.* The house of Cadmus, of which Homer has no mention, and Thebes, ill-represented by Ὑποθήβας B 505, make their way into the sacred ring; Acarnania, unmentioned in Homer but probably implied in Dulichium (see p. 86), asserts itself as Hellenic: the answer to the question which we put nowadays, what were the islands doing? is answered by bringing them in as a separate entity under Ἐπειός (can this be a reminiscence of the Dulichian Epei?): and Colophon, founded as the result of the Νόσσοι according to the proper story, presumes on its nativity and sends itself to the war. The assaults to which the Catalogue was subject all its life long are well exemplified.

The age of Dictys is uncertain: the papyrus of the Greek original is s. iii. p. c. The oldest quotation appears to be that by Lysimachus in schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 558 διαπεφωνήκασι δέ τινες καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀχιλλέως μητρός, καθάπερ Λυσίμαχος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ νόστων κατὰ λέξιν λέγων· Σουίδας γὰρ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ περὶ Εὐβοίας πεπραγματευμένος καὶ ὁ τοὺς Φρυνγίους λόγους γράψας (cf. Dict. i. 14) καὶ Δαίμαχος καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς οὐ τὴν περὶ Ἀχιλλέως διεσπαρμένην ἀφήκαν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ χώρας δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖναντίον οἱ μὲν ἐκ Θέτιδος αὐτὸν νομίζουσι γεγονέναι τῆς Χείρωνος, Δαίμαχος δὲ ἐκ Φιλομήλας τῆς Ἄκτορος. Lysimachus seems at least prae-Christian. The reference also in the scholia on A 108 may be Alexandrian: Syrianus in Hermogenem (ὡς Δίκτυς ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσι) ii. 7 Rabe (= Rhet. gr. iv. 43) is later than the papyrus. The result seems to be that the pressure of the

ignored nations on the Catalogue had asserted itself in Dictys at a fairly early period.

Dictys' Trojan Catalogue occurs at ii. 35 *res postulare videtur eorum reges qui socii atque amici Troiae quique ob mercedem auxiliares ex diversis regionibus contracti Priamidarum imperium sequebantur edicere*. The formal ground for a Trojan Catalogue is the advent of allies. Hence apparently the Trojan Catalogue finds the same place approximately in all our sources: Homer, the Cypria, and Dictys. In fact Homer's transference of the Greek Catalogue to its place in B may have been facilitated by the fact that the Trojan Catalogue was there (in the Chronicle) already. The list itself is the Homeric, but at the end, after Asius of Sestos we have *alius Asius Dymante genitus Hecubae frater ex Phrygia*: he is the fruit of original investigation in the body of the poem (Π 717-19).

Malalas (ed. Bonn, v, p. 107) ascribes his Catalogue, as his whole Trojan chapter, to Dictys, of whom he gives an account.¹ His Catalogue is evidently the same as that in the Latin version. The order is in most respects identical, but there are various differences which, when mere errors are allowed for,² suggest that his Dictys was not exactly the same as the Latin version, but materially longer, more corrupt and later. Thus there are numerical variants:

Elephenor XL Dict. = ξ' Mal.

Philoctetes VII Dict. = κβ' Mal.;

the two Ajaces are interchanged in Malalas. More or less verbal variants are

Meges ex Dulichio et ex insulis Echinadibus Dict.

Μέγης ἐκ Δολίχης τῆς Ἑλλάδος Mal.

Achilleus ex Pelasgico Dict.

Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργούς τῆς Ἑλλάδος Mal.;

that Σώρθης Φίλιππος Ἀντίφος σὺν νηυσὶν οἷ' (Mal.) = *XXX ex insulis congregatis cum Antipho Philippus* (Dict.) is plain, but Σώρθης awaits an explanation (at this point the word *traphates* occurs in one MS. of Dictys).

More substantial variants are that Malalas adds Ἀγήνωρ καὶ Τευθίδης σὺν νηυσὶν ξ' (?), and Παλαμίδης σὺν νηυσὶν ιβ' (so Dares). On the other hand Malalas omits Thersander, Calchas, Mopsus, and

¹ A similar story is told of Antoninus Diogenes ap. Phot. bibl. 111 a 20 sq.

² E. g. Χαλίας ἐκ Τρίκκης (= Οἰχαλίην B 730) and Ἀμφιγενείας ἐξ Ἰλίου σὺν νηυσὶν μγ' (perhaps = Ἀμφιγένειαν . . . καὶ Πτελεόν B 593, 4). A better text of Malalas may remove some of these corruptions.

Epios. Moreover Malalas brings Nireus ἐκ Μυκῆνης (agreeing with Hyginus).

The allusions to the Catalogue in Georgius Cedrenus and Constantine Manasses (the latter in verse) are less important.¹

The traditions about Dares and his *Iliad* are more abundant than those concerning Dictys, if less picturesque.² Antipater of Acanthus³ quoted by Ptolemy Hephaestion ap. Phot. bibl. 147 a 26 who says that 'Dares wrote the *Iliad* before Homer', and Aelian, *V. H.* xi. 1. 2 who says οὗ Φρυγίαν Ἰλιάδα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποσωζομένην οἶδα take the story back to about the Alexandrian period: and, after the case of Dictys, it cannot be doubted that the 'Phrygian Iliad' is represented, doubtless in a stringent epitome, by the small Latin book which now goes under the name of Dares.

The principal peculiarity of Dares' version is his pro-Athenian attitude. The Greek fleet meets frankly at Athens (c. 14); what Euripides did not dare, the uncertain Phrygian accomplished, and Mr. Leaf's Boeotian poet, who invented Aulis, has at last met his match. Otherwise Dares' Catalogue is the Homeric, and the variants, whether of numerals or persons, are graphical: thus Nireus is given 53 ships for 3, the Arcadians are reduced to 40, Meges and Dulichium are left out. The only addition is Palamedes:⁴ *dum Agamemnon consulit de tota re, ex Cormo [?] advenit Naupli filius Palamedes cum navibus XXX* (c. 18). The elevation of Palamedes to a prince-regnant is the result of learning. The addition of his name to the heroes is excused by his death which accounted for his omission in Homer's Catalogue.

The Trojan Catalogue (c. 18) adds on the same grounds *de Aethiopia Perses et Memnon, de Thracia Rhesus et Archilochus*, and, what is stranger, *de colofonia masius*. Colophon, in the ordinary story, was settled during the Nostoi by Leonteus, Polypoetes, and Calchas. As early as Hesiod fr. 160 an ἀγών took place here

¹ Manasses devotes vv. 1107-1471 to the Trojan war, and apologizes (1112 sqq.) for deserting Homer: Ὅμηρος γὰρ ὁ μελιχρὸς τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ θελξίνους | μεθόδοις χρώμενος σοφαῖς οἰκονομεῖ τοὺς λόγους, | ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ τὰ πολλὰ στρέφει καὶ μεταστρέφει. His Catalogue begins with Athens, and Menestheus heads the list of leaders. The wrath of Achilles is due to the murder of Palamedes, but his return to the death of Patroclus, as in Homer. After the destruction of the Amazons, David king of Judaea is appealed to, but declines to send his Jews. Ταντάνης sends a black Indian army under Memnon.

² See the article in Smith or Pauly.

³ If he is the Antipater quoted with Euphronius, ap. schol. *Birds* 1403, he is one of the later Alexandrians.

⁴ As in Malalas.

between Tiresias and Mopsus. Dares saw another ally in Mopsus, if we accept Meister's supplements to the phrase quoted last, viz. *de Colophonia Mopsus, de Phrygia Asius*. Dares was probably wrong; Callinus fr. 8 and the other authorities clearly regard Mopsus as a Greek.

These various Catalogues, differing in numerous details from the Homeric Catalogue and from each other, appear to be all variations or adaptations of one Catalogue, the Homeric. In the Euripidean and the Daretan version the principal changes were dictated by Athenian interests; in the Dictyan communities unmentioned in Homer made their way into the charmed circle. The reason for the variation in numerals is obscure.

We find no trace of an independent Catalogue, or of a Catalogue other than the Homeric. No source other than the Homeric is to be descried. The list which we find in the *Iliad* maintained itself with the success which one would expect of an international document. The later versions had no effect upon the Homeric text, no new State made its entry into Homer: attempts indeed were made to alter the wording of the document, but for the most part without success. Only one of any importance can be mentioned.¹ The other additions or alterations which can be traced had not a political origin, and amount to variant lections. These will be treated where they occur.

III

ANCIENT AUTHORITIES

The Catalogue occupied historians of all ages. Endless works were written either upon it or upon its subject, the nations and families that went to Troy. The earliest perhaps is the *Τρωικά* of Hellanicus (*F. H. G.* i. 61) quoted mostly for places and persons: Strabo has severe remarks on Hellanicus' method (see p. 37 n.). Damastes, considered Hellanicus' disciple, has a notice in Suidas: γέγραφε . . . περὶ γονέων καὶ προγόνων τῶν εἰς Ἴλιον στρατευσαμένων βιβλία δύο· ἐθνῶν κατάλογον καὶ πόλεων. Strabo's judgement on Damastes is no less severe, 47, 684. The same entry occurs in Suidas under Polus of Acragas: ἔγραψε γενεαλογίαν τῶν ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατευσαμένων Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, καὶ πῶς ἕκαστος ἀπῆλλαξε· τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸ Δαμάστου ἐπιγράφουσι. νεῶν κατάλογον.

See on B 853.

Other Troica are ascribed to Dionysius of Miletus (βιβλία γ'), to Cephalion (or Hermesianax) Ath. 393 D, Abas (*F. H. G.* iv. 278); works on the colonization were the κτίσις of Miletus and Caria by Cadmus, reputed the first prose writer (Strabo 18, Pliny v. 31, vii. 36, Suid. in v.), a poem in pentameters εἰς ἔπη ζ' called Ἰωνικά by Panyasis, the περιήγησις Ἰλίου by Polemo; a poem on the εἰς Αὔλιδα σύνοδος by Simonides of Carystus.

Aristotle's πολιτεῖαι must have provided a great deal of information (e.g. the Λευκαδίων and Ἰθακησίων); and one of his works was specifically devoted to this subject. This was his Πέπλος which contained according to Porphyry (ap. Eust. 285. 18 sqq.) γενεαλογίας τε ἡγεμόνων . . . καὶ νεῶν ἐκάστων ἀριθμόν, καὶ ἐπιγράμματα εἰς αὐτούς. A number of metrical epitaphs on heroic personages are printed by Rose in the Berlin *Aristotle*, vol. 5, pp. 1574-8, from a MS. Laur. lvi. 1 (s. xiii) and Tzetzes. They are as Eustathius observes ἀπλᾶ . . . καὶ οὐδέν τι παχὺ καὶ φλεγμαῖνον ἔχοντα.¹ The Πέπλος was one of the numerous manuals² of which the historical knowledge of the early Byzantines was composed: it is quoted by Socrates iii. 23 along with the στέφανος of Dionysius and the πολυμνήμων of Rheginus, and it is singular that Malalas, who is one patchwork of Rheginus and other χρονογράφοι, does not quote it. However, these notices and the quotation in schol. A Λ 688 give nothing for our purpose, and we are ignorant of the relation of the Πέπλος to the orthodox or any other Catalogue.

Actual commentaries were composed, on the Trojan part by Demetrius of Scepsis in thirty books, on the Greek part by Apollodorus of Alexandria. Through Demetrius we see Histiaea, the Alexandrian *dottoretta*, and Attalus I (e.g. in Strabo 599, 603). These writers, especially Demetrius and Apollodorus, form by far the greater part of Strabo's material. His quotation of them did not make them extinct; quotations, apparently independent, are found later.³ Of the historians later than the fifth century, Ephorus is most often quoted.

¹ See on them Schneidewin, *Philologus*, vol. i; M. Schmidt, ib. vol. xxiii; Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, vol. xxx.

² Called Δειμών, Ἐλικών, Κηρίον, or Πέπλος Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 2.

³ Marcianus, epit. 4 (Geog. gr. min. i) epitomizes Artemidorus and Menippus, who must therefore have been extant in his day (later than Ptolemy). Schol. Pind. *Ol.* v. 42 a quotes Dem. Sceps. through Theon. Stephanus of Byzantium has many citations of the older authors, e.g. Hecataeus, Hellanicus ἐν α' Τρωικῶν, Suidas (the Thessalian), Apollodorus ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ or the epitome of it often; and in the unepitomized Stephanus there must have been many more.

Scholia on the Catalogue are not very abundant. The absence of 493-end in T accounts for the loss of probably valuable information. The commentary preserved in *Ox. Pap.* 1086 (vol. viii) is older than Strabo, and as far as it goes precious. The other papyrus-commentaries sometimes allude to the Catalogue (e.g. Ammonius on Φ 140, *Ox. Pap.* 221).

We know little about the external history of the Catalogue. It is omitted by one papyrus (p^3 s. iv-v P.C.) and about twenty mediaeval MSS. including T. There is no tradition of its omission, or of its origin being late (as there is of book K). We are reduced to conjecture to account for its absence in MSS. from about 450 P.C. Apparently, since there is nothing to carry the omission further back, it was due to a distaste for the subject-matter and a desire to lighten the author. A similar desire accounts for some of the many defective MSS. (Some have only A and B, and of these some stop at B 493.)

IV

THE HOMERIC CATALOGUE

The Catalogue of Ships, *διάκοσμος* or *Βοιωτία*,¹ covers vv. 494-877 of book ii of the *Iliad*. The Greek Catalogue runs to v. 760, after which we have a kind of prize dealt out to the best hero and the best horses, and a simile to wind up the description, as two began it. The Trojan Catalogue, with its introduction, takes up the rest of the book. The *διάκοσμος* is represented as the sequel of the debate which followed the suggestion of Nestor 360 sqq. to rearrange the host according to *φύλα* and *φρῆτραι*. The impression of a tactical change is kept up by the hurrying kings sorting the men, 445-6; the ease with which the commanders marshalled them, like a flock of goats, 474; and by the statement about the Phocians, 526 (*Βοιωτῶν δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ θωρήσسونτο*), and the Salaminians, 558 (unless this is an addition modelled on 526), and by the negative remark about the

¹ The title *Βοιωτία* is ancient; it is an instance, on a large scale, of the ancient habit of referring to a passage by its beginning. It cannot be appealed to as a sign of the importance of the Boeotians. Cf. schol. A on Γ 277 [*ἡ διπλῇ*] *πρὸς τὴν ἀθέτησιν τῶν ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ ὥκεία δ' ἡελίῳ ὑπερίονι ἀγγελος ἦλθεν*. The athetesis covered 16 lines, of which *ὥκεία κτλ.* was the first. Apoll. Dysc. *pronom.* 109. 20 *τὸ μέντοι ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φρεσὶν ἦσιν ἔχων ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμαῖς εὐλόγως ὑπ' Ἀριστάρχου ὑπωπτεύετο ὡς νόθον*. Four lines were athetized.

Spartans, 587 ἀπάτερθε δὲ θωρήσσοντο (perhaps to mark the fact that they were not one force with Agamemnon's men, as they are in Hyginus), and the formation is referred to as late as Δ 428 κέλευε δὲ οἷσιν ἕκαστος. Dignity is given to the list by the repeated similes emphasizing the size of the multitude, and by the invocation to the Muses to aid the poet in his hard task. Yet, though the document represents the races and the numbers before Troy, it is not the order of the camp or ναύσταθμος. This we obtain from © 222, Λ 5 and 805. Ajax and Achilles are on either wing, Ulysses is in the middle, next the altars and the ἀγορά; Patroclus in the last passage passes Ulysses' station with the ἀγορή, θέμυς, and altars on his way from Nestor to Achilles. Nor is it the order in the field. This is shown in the Ἐπιώλῃσις Δ 250 sqq., where Agamemnon passes from the Cretans to the two Ajaces and then to Nestor, the Athenians, the Cephallenians under Ulysses, and the Argives under Sthenelus and Diomedes. Neither of these arrangements agrees in any respect with the Catalogue, nor does the group, partly composed of East-coast Greek peoples, in N 685 sqq., represent the sequence of the διάκοσμος.

Moreover, the slightest examination of the Catalogue itself shows that it is in no sense an order of fighting or a scheme of encampment. It is a survey of a people, consisting of many nations or tribes, inhabiting a wide area, from the Ionian sea to Rhodes, arranged in geographical zones. It is singular also that the author of the poem seized a moment in the ninth year of the war to announce the lands, towns, numbers, and leaders of the contingents, and that Nestor's tactical reforms are postponed to this late point in the war. Hence it is usually admitted that the Catalogue was not invented by Homer, as he invented the speeches and similes which introduce it, at this moment of his creative task, but that it has another origin. The question of this origin, that is, the age of the document, the source from which Homer took it, its authority, and the additions, if any, that have been made to it, is what we are to examine.

The Trojan Catalogue is introduced by similar expedients. Iris in the guise of Polites, the observation-officer, recommends Hector a formation according to races: τοῖσιν ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ σημαίνεται οἷσι περ ἄρχει, as though the previous practice had been different. The Trojan order also in the field is given at K 428 sqq., and is different to that of the Catalogue. In M 88 sqq. we have a kind of second Trojan Catalogue, with personal details.

The Catalogue, if we regard it as part of the narrative, serves the

purpose of a *dramatis personae*; it gives the reader the list of the characters about whom he is to read in the poem. Homer placed it here for the illumination of the reader, that by reference to it he might determine the country and the parentage of Meriones and Antilochus, Asius and Sarpedon. To make its appearance plausible Homer invented the simple and rather wooden machinery with which he usually subserves his plot. The whole of the earlier part of book ii is in fact a marvellous mechanism for getting the Greek host under arms again: the dream of Agamemnon, the put-up debate, wherein Agamemnon is made to say 'the opposite of what he means', and is within an ace of sending the Achaeans to their ships:¹ the introduction to the Catalogue is only part of this scheme. Nestor is made to think out a kind of 'territorial' principle of brigading; we hear nothing about it afterwards, but it made the introduction of the Catalogue at this point more plausible. We may say Homer invented it if we please: or, as seems to me more probable,² he found the *motif* somewhere in his originals, and inserted it at this place. So he combined two entirely different episodes to make his book x.³ The Trojan parallel (805-6) prevents any other interpretation of *φῦλα τε καὶ φρῆτραι*, and Euripides in the *Phoenissae* 108 evidently represented it by *χωρίζουσι δ' ἀλλήλων λόχους* as Eustathius notes 181. 21 (ἐξ Ὁμήρου *παραφράσας*).⁴ The account which gave the invention to Palamedes (Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 202) regarded it as an advance in the military art; *ordinem exercitus, signi dationem, tesseras, vigiliis, Palamedes invenit Troiano bello*. Another similar tactical change is adopted, Ξ 370 sqq., without apparent consequences. I examine the theory which Mr. Leaf's mature imagination has built upon this passage, pp. 100 sqq.

¹ Cf. *J. Phil.* xxxi. 228 sqq. Dion. Hal. *τεχν. ῥητ.* viii. 15 cites Agamemnon's speech as a case *τῶν τὰ ἐναντία βουλομένων οἷς λέγουσιν*.

² Since the Elean, perhaps the Argive, and perhaps the Sperchean arrangements show a division of the command which may imply a territorial or regional distinction, and which again may have prevailed in the other states, though Homer neglects to notice it in their cases.

³ *Ib.* 220, 221.

⁴ Cf. Polybius v. 64. 1 *κατὰ γένη καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν διελόντες*.

V

THE GREECE OF THE CATALOGUE

The Homeric Catalogue presents a picture of the Greek world very different from that with which we are familiar. The boundaries indeed of the Greece of the Catalogue are exactly the same as those of the Greece of historical times, as given in the well-known judgments of Thucydides ii. 68 and Polybius xviii. 18: the north frontier is defined by Oloosson on the east, and Aetolia, the Cephallenian islands, and Dulichium on the west. But the divisions and groups of states are different; forgotten communities appear, and the towns and countries of history stand in different relations to each other. On the other hand none of the equally Hellenic but later branches of the race is represented; Ionia, the Ionic colonies, the Western Greeks, and Cyrene, are not there; the Cyclades are absent. The Macedonian claim to Hellenism finds no support.¹ In whosever interest therefore the Catalogue was made, it was not in the interest of the later Greek communities, and especially not in that of Ionia. Yet the Asiatic colonies were a fair half of the Greek nation, and down to the Persian wars the fortunes and progress of the race were in their hands. But to Homer Miletus was Carian. Ephesus, Smyrna, Lesbos, and Samos were non-existent or non-Greek. The position of the Cyclades in the Catalogue is notoriously a mystery. Moreover, the Homeric poems at their origin were in the hands of Ionians; an Ionian gild called themselves Homer's sons, and are stated to have recited his poems from father to son.² A large school of epic poets hid themselves under his name, and produced poems upon the heroic age as by Homer. Yet these great states and these professional circles gained no mention of themselves or their interests in the Catalogue. At this early and relatively praecritical age it was safe. To suppose that in later, more wideawake, and more jealous centuries it was adapted or altered is difficult.

The Catalogue also gives a different view of the heroic age to that

¹ The fourth century found it necessary to explain these singularities. Theopompus, ap. Dem. Sceps. ap. Strab. 375, said Methone (in Macedonia) was drawn in vain by Agamemnon's *ναυτολόγοι*. Ephorus, fr. 28, said Acarnania did not join in the war because Alcmaeon, in whose hands it already was, had fallen out with Agamemnon.

² On the Homeridae see my article *C. Q.* 1907, 135 and Rzach's account in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. viii.

which we find in later epos, in the logographers and historians, and to some extent in general traditions. In these quarters we find an unhomeric picture of antiquity, due to more than one cause. We see local legends, not to be set aside, which are unreconcilable with Homer; we see also the constant desire of races and families to have assisted at the Trojan war. The latter tendency is responsible for much false history and much false interpretation of Homer. The logographi are notorious;¹ even Strabo himself wavers between the clear statements of the Catalogue and the claims of noble but post-heroic families. The Dorian or Heraclidean races, as they succeeded to the sites and the culture of their predecessors, so they appropriated their predecessors' one great action. States, non-existent in the heroic age, like Megara, Pharsalus, Colophon, made their way into the roll. The interest in the matter is shown by frequent affiliations, very likely genuine, of important families to heroic stock. Andocides gave himself out as a descendant of Ulysses, the Cypselidae were Lapiths, Theron a Labdacid, Pisistratus a Neleid, Miltiades an Aeacid, Melissus (Pind. *Isthm.* iii) a Labdacid; even a lady of easy virtue claimed descent from the Atridae (Ath. 596 E on the authority of οἱ τὰ Ἀργολικὰ γράψαντες), Epicharmus from Achilles (Ptol. Heph. 147 a 7).

Three factors, therefore, have to be considered: the account which Homer gives of the heroic age; the conditions of historical Greece; and the view held of the heroic age by the historical Greeks. The Homeric account is nowadays held not to be true; it is of later origin than it professes, and is a forgery. In the realm of history innumerable forged documents exist, and it may be safely said that they have all one motive, general or individual interest. Forgery is not undertaken without a motive. No doubt in the ancient world as well as in the modern, there were a certain number of what we may call literary forgeries, where the forger did not stand to make material gain: such are said to have been the plays of Magnes, some

¹ So Strabo 451 complains of Hellanicus: Ἑλλάνικος δ' οὐδὲ τὴν περὶ ταύτας [Olenus and Pylene] ἱστορίαν οἶδεν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔτι καὶ αὐτῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ καταστάσει μέμνηται, τὰς δ' ὕστερον καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδου κτισθείσας, Μακυνίαν καὶ Μολύκρειαν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις καταλέγει, πλείστην εὐχέριαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἐν πάσῃ σχεδὸν τι τῇ γραφῇ. Ephorus (ib. 462 = fr. 28) with his story of Acarnania colonized by Alcmaeon before the Trojan war contradicts Homer. We find Pindar, an antiquarian if there ever was one, dividing the heroic world between Sparta and Athens, as after the battle of Salamis: *Nem.* viii. 21 the heroes obeyed Aeacus οἱ τε κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθήνασιν ἄρμοζον στρατὸν, | οἱ τ' ἀνὰ Σπάρταν Πελοπιήδαι.

dialogues of Plato, collections of letters, some tragedies, and the like. Even here, however, some personal motive of self-satisfaction or glorification must be allowed, as in Ireland's Shakespeare inventions. Documentary forgeries are due to self-interest or party spirit. Whether an abbey forges charters and chronicles, an ecclesiastical party decretals, a Church gospels or letters between sacred persons, a monarch or a family charters, donations, registers, wills, marriage-lines, self-interest spurs the pen.¹ It is to this class that the Homeric Catalogue belongs. It is a document constituting a title: and as such was frequently appealed to in inter-state Greek matters from 600 B.C. onwards.² Fraudulent additions to it, or alterations in it, were alleged and attempted. As it stands it trails several variants with it, and distorted copies of it exist in later authors. Therefore if it be a forgery it is no literary forgery. It is one made with a material and quasi-legal purpose. It resembles the Battle Abbey Roll.

Therefore, when we discuss its authenticity, we are entitled to apply to it the question which may be asked of every spurious historical document: in whose interest were the departures from truth made? *Cui bono?* in short. And the answer must be, as Seneca says (*Medea* 500), *cui prodest scelus, is fecit*. I propose to apply this ancient test to each section in turn: if the answer is, only predominantly, *nemini bono*, we may feel sure of the sincerity of the document.

VI

ORDER OF PLACES IN THE CATALOGUE

The Catalogue is the list of the forces assembled at Aulis, but arranged in the order of their position on the face of the earth. The order clearly is geographical; the writer considers the whole Greek world, in zones, and how the separate races lie in each zone. See Mr. Thompson, l. c., p. 135, 'This Catalogue seems to be in the first instance a national list of the Mycenaean dominions, and only incidentally a list of those who fought against Troy. This may explain the order in which the various districts are enumerated, all

¹ See on this subject A. Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatie*, 1894, pp. 861 sqq. 'Les Documents faux'. I owe this reference, among many others, to Mr. R. L. Poole.

² See p. 21, n. 7.

with the exception of Thessaly being in a natural geographical arrangement. The last two acquisitions of the Mycenaean world were Thessaly and portions of the west coast, and these consequently would not appear in an earlier national list. Such a list would have begun in Boeotia or Phocis, and would have followed the order of the Catalogue, as we have it, up to some point on the west coast: it might have ended at the Corinthian Gulf. Then would follow the list of Aegean islands, but Thessaly would not appear. An extension of territory in the west would create no difficulty; it would fall into its proper geographical position, and the jump to the Aegean islands would merely be postponed. The acquisition of Thessaly would cause some inconvenience if the list were to be kept up to date. Geographically it should be put first; but a half-conquered province could hardly appear first in a national list. Thessaly, therefore, was tacked on at the end, after the Aegean islands and in defiance of all geographical order; but nevertheless in its true historical position.' This seems to me a very probable account.¹

The places fall into five zones:

I. Central Greece, from the Isthmus to Oeta.

1. Boeotians. 2. Orchomenians. 3. Phocians. 4. Locrians.
5. Euboeans. 6. Athenians. 7. Salaminians.

The order is a kind of circle W.N.E.S.W.

II. Peloponnesus.

8. Argos. 9. Mycenae-Corinth-Sicyon. 10. Lacedaemon. 11. Pylos.
12. Arcadia. 13. Elis.

We proceed from NE. to NW., and Elis makes a bridge to her colony Dulichium.

III. NW. Greece.

14. Dulichium and the Echinae. 15. Cephalenian islands.
16. Aetolia.

¹ Mr. Arkwright says in a letter: 'The Catalogue takes Boeotia, the Minyae, and the Phocians, who were the Boeotian left wing 526, as a kind of central unity. (In the Theban legends the Phocians and the Phlegyae from Minyas were Theban allies, Pausanias ix. 9. 2.) Then comes a periplus right round the outer coast, disregarding the gulf of Corinth, and putting in the states which did not touch the outer sea [Mycenae, Arcadia] next to the nearest state which did touch it. Probably Cephalenia, &c., are parenthetical, like Mycenae and Arcadia, on a branch line. . . . The remote islands are not in geographical order, but according to size, except that Syme is treated as an outlier of Rhodes. The last group are more or less arranged from south to north, Nisyrus being displaced probably to fit the metre. Thessaly is treated as if it were a distinct country. It only touches on the east coast, if at all.'

IV. The Aegean.

17. Crete. 18. Rhodes. 19. Syme. 20. Nisyros, Carpathos, Casos, Cos, the Calydnæ.

V. NE. Greece, north of Oeta.

21. Pelasgic argos. 22. Iton, &c. 23. Pheræ, Iolcus. 24. Methone, Meliboea, &c. 25. Tricca-Oechalia-Ithome. 26. Ormenion, Titanus, Hyperea. 27. Argissa, Oloosson, &c. 28. Dodona, Cyphus, Titaresius. 29. The Magnetes.

Not only the localities and commanders are given, but the contingents, reckoned in ships. We are also told that the Boeotian ships contained 120 men; in the Arcadian ships were 'many', πολέες: Philoctetes' and Achilles' (M 170) ships contained 50. Thucydides i. 10 struck an average of crews, between 120 and 50, to obtain a total for the armada. This may serve as a rough calculation, but there is no reason to suppose that the Boeotian ships were the largest, or larger than those of Agamemnon, whose numbers and excellence are insisted upon.

CHAPTER I

CENTRAL GREECE

1. THE Boeotians from 29 towns send 50 ships under 5 leaders with 120 men in each ship. The total, 6,000 men, is large, but not too large for the size of the country, especially if it came down to the Saronic gulf with Nisa. Fifty ships is a moderate number: it is that of the Athenians and of Peleus' Sperchean subjects. The size of the Boeotian crews may have been the maximum, as Thucydides assumed, but there is no reason, as I remarked p. 40, to suppose that the ships of many other nations were not as large. Boeotia was not specially populous. It possessed, as in the historical period, a great number of large villages or small towns, and a good deal of its surface was covered with water.

The pedigrees of the leaders hardly go back beyond their fathers. They seem native. Leitus' tomb was shown at Plataea,¹ Paus. ix. 4. 3, that of Arcesilaus at Lebadea, ib. 39. 4. Prothoenor is allotted to Thespieae by Hyginus, fab. 97. Prothoenor² was perhaps a Cadmean, to judge from the stories in Pausanias vii. 5. 15, ix. 5. 15. We notice two absences in the entry, the Cadmean family and the city Thebes. No descendants of Oedipus are mentioned.³ Thebes is represented by Ὑποθήβαι. The ancients thought this was either a separate place near Thebes, such as Potniae, or the lower quarters of the town of Thebes (ὕπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις χωρίοις Strabo 412, τὴν κάτω πόλιν Paus. ii. 6. 4). The formation of the word is unusual. Stephanus (in v.) compares Ὑποχαλκίς, a town under the mountain Chalcis (Strabo 451), and the epithet of the Asiatic Thebes, ὑποπλακίη (sc. ὑπὸ Πλάκῃ) and ὑπονήμιον in the *Odysey* are similar.

¹ Damasistratus, King of Plataea, appears in the story of Laius, Apollod. iii. 52.

² His descendants founded Πάναλος in Pontus, Steph. in v.

³ Thersander, son of Polynices, was sent to Teuthrania by the Cypria (epit. Procl.) only to be killed by Telephus (Apoll. epit. 3. 17). This seems as far as Theban or Dorian influence was able to go. Dictys (i. 14), who brings him as an exile from Aetolia, kills him in 'Maesia' (ii. 2); so Paus. ix. 5. 4. By the time of Virgil (*Aen.* ii. 261) and Hyginus, fab. 108, he had made his way into the Wooden Horse.

It is the opposite of Acrocorinthus. The meaning is consonant with the presumptions of Homeric chronology, which represent the war of the Epigoni as taking place a short generation before the Trojan. The Boeotian capital, therefore, is dismantled, and the Boeotian leaders honourable but not important. There is no discrepancy between the Catalogue and the body of the poem, and there would be no need to dwell on the section, but for the difficulty of the Boeotian name.

At least as early as the fifth century it was believed that the country known in history as Boeotia was conquered by a people who called themselves Βοιωτοί, and imposed their name on the country at a time later than the war of the Epigoni: Herod. v. 57 ἐνθούτεν [sc. from Thebes] δὲ Καδμείων πρότερον ἐξαναστάντων ὑπ' Ἀργείων [sc. the Epigoni] οἱ Γεφυραῖοι οὗτοι δεύτερα ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες [sc. from Tanagra, their district] ἐτράποντο ἐπ' Ἀθήναιων: c. 61, in the day of Laodamas, son of Eteocles (the same generation), ἐξανιστάται Καδμείοι ὑπ' Ἀργείων καὶ τρέπονται ἐς τοὺς Ἐγχελείας¹ οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι ὑπολειφθέντες . . . ἀναχωροῦσι ἐς Ἀθήνας. In this account there is nothing to prevent the Boeoti being in Boeotia before the Trojan war, and, if we are to conjecture the facts, we must suppose the Boeoti taking advantage of the desolation of Thebes and the near extinction of the Labdacidae to invade the country, that is, shortly after the victory of the Epigoni when the Cadmei were defenceless. There is also nothing to prevent them being not foreigners but the original inhabitants of the non-Theban and non-Tanagorean parts of Boeotia.

In later accounts we find a definite statement of a Boeotian immigration, and a date given for it, sixty years after the Trojan war. Thucydides tells us this, i. 12, and proceeds to reconcile the date with the presence of the Boeoti in Homer; Βοιωτοὶ δὲ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐξ Ἀρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ᾤκησαν. ἦν δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν. Who his source for the date was, and if the harmonization, as it evidently is, came from the source also, we cannot tell. Perhaps Hellanicus was answerable for both. Why Thucydides

¹ Εἰς Ἰλλυρίους sch. Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 153 b, where Cadmus stands for the Cadmeans. This curious tradition of a movement between Boeotia and the Adriatic resembles the legend of the retirement of the house of Peleus from the Spercheus valley.

was influenced by the figures also is not clear. Mr. Leaf sees that sixty years are the equivalent of two generations. The date is therefore not genuinely traditional, but the intentional adjustment of an annalist arranging crowded events at proper intervals, as when the Parian Marble puts Hesiod thirty years before Homer. I see no reason for doubting Thucydides' good faith.

We have another and more elaborate harmonization in Ephorus.¹ Boeotia was originally inhabited by *βάρβαροι*, namely Aones and Temmices from Sunium, Leleges, and Hyantes; next by Phoenicians under Cadmus, who built the Cadmea. His descendants built Thebes and ruled over most of Boeotia till the war of the Epigoni; at this time they left Thebes for a short space [they went to Alalcomenae, *ib.* 413, not to the *Ἐγχελές* as in Herodotus; Diodorus sends them first to Tilphosa, then to Doris; Apollodorus, *iii.* 85, makes them, after going a long way, found a city Hestiaea], but returned; next they were expelled by Thracians and Pelasgi and established an *ἀρχή* in Thessaly with the Arnaei for a long time, so much so that all of them [*viz.* Arnaei and Boeoti] were called Boeotians. They returned to Boeotia when the Aeolic migration was on the point of starting, and took part in it, after adding Orchomenus to Boeotia, and with the Orchomenians' help driving the Pelasgi to Athens and the Thracians to Parnassus.

This narrative is essentially the same as that in Herodotus and Thucydides. Another convulsion is added, between the time of the Epigoni and the final conquest of Boeotia, in order to avoid the discrepancy between the Catalogue and this story. It is Ephorus' rival to Thucydides' *ἀποδασμός*. Such a view of the processes of history, the supposition of the departure of a portion of the population to return with the invaders, is part of the furniture of the Greek historical mind. They applied it to all Greece with the Heraclidæ and to Elis with Aetolus, whose descendant Oxylus returned from Aetolia to Elis. It was a way of asserting continuity of race. There is then this difference between Thucydides and Ephorus, but the chronology is the same, for 'sixty years after Troy' and the Aeolic migration are the same era.

Lastly, we find Diodorus, *iv.* 67, putting the same story into genealogical form, and managing to agree with Homer by making the five Homeric Boeotian leaders descendants in the fourth

¹ *ap.* Strab. 402 sqq. Ephorus is not named, but he is quoted as near as 400.

generation of Boeotus and Arne.¹ Diodorus does not name his source, and we cannot tell how the harmonization in his case was effected.

The non-Homeric evidence so far resolves itself into a choice between two versions of the same legend, one in which the date of the Boeotian invasion was only defined by the war of the Epigoni, the other in which an unknown logographer fixed it at two generations after the Trojan war. No one will wish to tie movements of races to numerical details, especially to a transparent pedigree-shift.

Homer's statement, therefore, that Boeoti went to Troy, is in a strong position. The extra-Homeric tradition was not everywhere precise: where it was precise it resorted to more and more complicated adjustments in order to agree with Homer. Now when two late documents arrange history so as to prevent their details conflicting with an earlier document, that earlier document is in so far confirmed. So far as the data yield a probability it is, as I said above, that the Boeotian inroad, caused or not by the traditional Thessalian thrust, took place immediately after the downfall of the Cadmea and during the exhaustion of the country consequent upon it. Moreover, it must be added that we have no real knowledge of an early race-name in Boeotia other than *Βοιωτοί*. The Cadmean name in Homer and Hesiod applies to the people of Thebes. We do not hear of Boeotians outside the historical Boeotia. It is not a wandering name like *Πίερες*, *Περραιβοί*, *Ἐνιήνες*, *Φλεγίαι*, *Μαγνήτες* found now here, now there. The word itself appears native to Greece: we have *Βοιωτοί* another name for *Θάλαμοι*, a place in Messenia (Strabo 360): *Βοῖαι* near Malea, and *Βοῖον* on the Cephissus and the route between Thessaliotis and Boeotia. It is in fact conceivable that there were two indigenous peoples, Cadmei at Thebes and Boeoti round Copais, of whom the second conquered the first. The Boeoti are one among several tribes in Theopompus, fr. 237 *Χαλκιδεῖς πολεμήσαντες Αἰολεῦσι τοῖς τὴν ἡπειρον ἔχουσι, Χαλίοις καὶ Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις*.

Let us see the result of considering the Catalogue false in this

¹ The story reappears in the later writers. Archemachus (earlier than Athenaeus, who quotes him), *ἐν τῇ γ' Εὐβοικῶν* (*F. H. G.* iv. 314) implies the same tale when he makes some of the Boeoti remain at Arne and become penestae to the Thessalians. Charax, fr. 8 (ap. Steph. in *Δώριον*) makes Thessalus, son of Aeatos, conquer the Boeoti at Arne. Aristotle (*Παιροιμίαι*, fr. 280, *F. H. G.* ii. 188) changes the locality and plants the Boeotians on the Pagasaeon gulf, whence they are expelled by *Αἰολεῖς*.

particular. Homer began his line *Καδμείων μὲν Πηνέλεως καὶ Λήϊτος ἥρχον*. How did *Καδμείων* give way to *Βοιωτῶν*? Because the incoming Boeoti wished to appropriate their predecessors' glory, and substituted their own name for theirs?—a case of self-interest giving a good answer to the *cui bono?* question. This is impossible, and for the following reason: if there were a known case of such a performance in the early period; if the Aleuadae and Scopadae had introduced their names and their tetrarchy into Homer (and they had as good means of doing so as the Boeotians); there would still be one decisive consideration against such a process here. After the 'Dorian' conquest of Boeotia, what was the dominant power? who made the constant claim to the hegemonia of Boeotia, to partnership in the Dorian blood and constitution, kinship with Thessaly, and the glory of sharing in the foundation of Sparta? Naturally, Thebes and the Aegidae. If any action, through rhapsodes, poets, the Heliconian Muses, oracles, or what not, had been attempted upon the international poem in the interests of Boeotia, Thebes must have undertaken it. We cannot imagine Tanagra and Chaeronea influencing Homer. In the Boeotian section the noticeable points are the desolation of Thebes and the absence of the sons of Oedipus. If the Aegidae after the Heraclidæ returned had tampered with the Catalogue, would they have left the Cadmea unmentioned, the Oedipodidae extinct, and Orchomenus independent? Clearly they would have inserted not the Boeotians in their villages, but the Cadmea their fortress, Thebes their town, the Cadmei their people, and the sons of Laius their predecessors. As they did none of these things, and the poem admits the dismantlement of the Cadmea, and Thersander wins only a precarious mention in the *νεώτεροι* (resembling herein the sons of Theseus), we cannot believe in a Boeotian edition of this section; and between the calculated date of an annalist and the unmotivated statement of a primitive document there can be no hesitation.

We have next to find a motive for the anti-Homeric story. How, if the Catalogue is correct, did the account get in circulation that the Boeoti entered Boeotia sixty years after the Trojan war?—even if the strength of the Homeric account was such that means were sought to reconcile the two versions. Fortunately there is a parallel from a neighbouring state. The historical Corinthians denied that they served under Agamemnon at Troy: it was the previous population that did so, the Ephyræans. Homer called them erroneously,

Corinthians, by an anachronism, *ex persona poetae*. This view is expounded by the unknown source of Velleius, i. 3. Now the position of the Corinthians is clear, as will appear further on. After the Dorian invasion Corinth, Argos, and Sicyon were separate states, and the Bacchiadae, sons of the Lapiths, were not going to allow their country to be merged in the realm of Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, and whom the later Argos had begun to claim. Clisthenes of Sicyon, too, expelled the Argive poet. Corinthians, therefore, dated from Aletes, child of Heracles.

In Boeotia in the age which from its art we call Geometric the dominant power was Dorian, Heraclidean, the Aegidae of Thebes. The Cadmean name was dead, the people whose hegemony the Thebans claimed were *Βοιωτοί*. According to Homer *Βοιωτοί* went to Troy, but under the command of the local kings of the various villages; Thebes and the house of Thebes were unmentioned. It was not to be admitted that these unsynocised villages were Boeotians. Homer anachronized. What name the Aegidae gave to the horde that went to Troy we do not know;¹ Boeotians appeared on the scene sixty years later.

If we allowed the traditional story, denuded of names and dates, in the form that the historical inhabitants of Boeotia came from the neighbourhood of Arne, and worked out the results, we should find that they inhabited the district owned by Eurypylus during the Trojan war: they were therefore either his subjects or the subjects of his predecessors, Cometes and Asterion (Ap. Rhod. i. 35, cf. p. 123). No one knows where Eurypylus came from; he may have come from the north as well as from the south, and been a neighbouring chief² who expelled the previous dynasty and set the Arneans moving. But there are no tribal names assigned to these people. Apollonius does not suggest that Cometes ruled over Boeoti.

A new objection has been raised by Mr. Leaf. He finds that Aulis is a bad anchorage; it was therefore not the real one; the rendezvous was at Lemnos. Aulis was invented by a Boeotian poet: the Catalogue therefore at this point and in general lies under suspicion. Its statements have a purpose.

¹ Presumably Aones, Temmices, Leleges, Hyantes. Hecataeus, ap. Strab. 321, tells us that Peloponnesus, and nearly the whole of Greece before the coming of the Hellenes, was inhabited by *βάρβαροι*: this term includes Pelopidae, Danaidae, Tereus in Phocis, the Cadmei, Aones, &c., in Boeotia, and the Dryopes, Pelasgi, and others.

² Such, for instance, as Eurytus of Oechalia, p. 122.

The facts adduced by Mr. Leaf about the current and the tides in the channel between Boeotia and Euboea are not new. The careful articles 'Chalkis' and 'Euripos' in Pauly-Wissowa, equally based on English nautical publications, show no alarm; Mr. Shewan, *C. R.* 1917, 7 sqq., has examined the data of the *Mediterranean Pilot*, and has no difficulty in showing that the difficulties of navigation have made too lively an impression on Mr. Leaf. The *Pilot* is a dangerous book and should not be left about. I confine myself to ancient evidence.

The Euripus and its peculiarities were celebrated throughout antiquity. Here Aristotle lost his life,¹ Mr. Leaf his head. No Boeotian poet or antiquary could reckon on public ignorance if he substituted Aulis for the real harbour. As far back as we can see Aulis was fixed in the Greek mind as the place of Agamemnon's departure for Troy. It occurs in the body of the *Iliad* (B 303). It suggests this association to Hesiod (*OD.* 651) when he has occasion to mention his one voyage from Aulis to Euboea. Hesiod, a Boeotian who hated water in general, cannot have been unaware of the Euripus. The *Cypria* names it as the rendezvous. Again, undeterred by rises and falls and the strength of currents, tradition gave it as the port of embarkation of the Aeolic migration (Strabo 401), and that the 'Aeolians' were drawn from this part of the world, namely Locris and the Φρίκιον ὄρος, we know from such foundation-legends of Aeolic towns as have survived (Herod. i. 149, Strabo 401, 446, 582, 621). If Aulis was impossible, these people might have taken Opus, or Larymna.

There is throughout literature no hesitation, and no survival of an earlier version. Aeschylus, *Ag.* 200, gives Aulis the damaging epithet: παλιρρόχθους ἐν Αὔλιδος τόποις. To Strabo—who in the same chapter (403) mentions the παλίσροια—the only difficulty is that the harbour of Aulis proper contained only fifty ships, and therefore the ναύσταθμος must have been in the βαθὺς λιμὴν. If Mr. Leaf's conclusions are true, no navigation, or only the very slightest and most indispensable, could have taken place. He reminds me of a distinguished archaeologist who proved to me that the stories of Ulysses' visit to Autolycus and, later in life, to inspect his horses at Pheneus were false, because the set of winds and tides in the gulf of Corinth prevented navigation from the west. This

¹ Of chagrin at his inability to account for the phenomena: Procopius, *bell. Goth.* iv. 6, 20; *An. Ox.* ii. 200; *El. Gud.* 220. 32.

would have meant the closing of that gulf from the Ionian sea, and neither could the Cretan priests with Apollo on board have reached Delphi, nor Rhadine have sailed from Samos to Delphi (Stesichorus, fr. 44), nor Mindyrides from Sybaris to Sicyon (Diod. viii. 19). *Solutum est navigando*. So with Mr. Leaf's argument. Whatever the difficulties of the Euripus they did not prevent continuous and important navigation in these parts. Consider first Chalcis. Chalcis is situate on the actual Euripus, which washes its walls. Mr. Leaf, I presume, would condemn it to inaccessibility, and leave it an Euboean village communicating with the world by its one-plank bridge across the strait (Procop. *de aedif.* 275. 10). But as we know Chalcis was for a long time the wealthiest port on the Greek east coast. Its colonies went out over the Greek world. It did the trade of Nantes on the shifting Loire and Bristol on the tortuous tidal Avon. More than this, Dicaearchus, or whoever wrote the well-informed ἀναγραφὴ Ἑλλάδος, of which fragments of an epitome remain (*Geog. gr. min.* i, pp. 97 sqq.), says (i. 29) that the Euripus, far from preventing trade, drew the trader to Chalcis: καὶ γὰρ ὁ Εὐριπος δισδὸν ἔχων τὸν εἰσπλοὺν ἐφέλκεται τὸν ἔμπορον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.¹ Not merely trade passed up and down the channel, naval operations of some size found a suitable harbour at Aulis. Ptolemy, son of Antigonos (Diod. xix. 77), sailed to the βαθὺς λιμὴν with a fleet and conducted operations from it: ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στόλου καταπλεύσας τῆς Βοιωτίας εἰς τὸν βαθὺν καλούμενον λιμένα παρὰ μὲν τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Βοιωτῶν προσελάβετο στρατιώτας . . . μετεπέμψατο δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ ναῦς καὶ τειχίσας τὸν Σαλγανέα συνήγαγεν ἐνταῦθα πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν κτλ. Ill-advised admiral, who lived before the British had begun to map! But his enemy, Demetrius, none the less (ib. xx. 100. 5) ἐξέπλευσε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ κομισθεὶς διὰ τῶν νήσων κατέπλευσε τῆς Βοιωτίας εἰς Αὐλιν. These princes, for all their culture, were not such slaves of literature that they chose the dangerous moorage of Aulis in obedience to the Boeotian poet who, in defiance of wind and weather, brought Agamemnon there from Lemnos? It

¹ And centuries afterwards Sibthorp (in Walpole's *Memoirs*, ii. 73) said 'no place in the world seems from its situation to lay so fair a claim to commercial advantages as Egripo'. I quote another coincidence: R. v. Pöhlmann, *Griech. Gesch.* ed. 5, 1914, p. 48 'Besonders früh und intensiv tritt diese Tendenz da hervor wo . . . eine günstige geographische Lage die Entwicklung des Verkehrs und der Schifffahrt beschleunigte, also vor allem . . . in den euböischen Städten Chalkis und Eretria am Euripus, der kürzesten und sichersten Verbindungsstrasse zwischen Nord- und Süd-Hellas.'

was a rendezvous for the Roman and allied ships in the war against Perseus, Livy xlii. 55, 56, xlv. 1, 2.

For an expedition gathered from the whole of Greece, intended against Asia, it was the most central spot to find.¹ When Agesilaus (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4. 3, Plut. *Ages.* 6, *Pelop.* 21) was sailing for Ephesus he instructed his allies to meet him at Geraestus. Geraestus, when Boeotia and Attica were closed, was essentially the same position. (The Greeks made for it on their return, γ 177.) Inspired by the feeling that he was following in Agamemnon's steps, he essayed to sacrifice at Aulis, but was prevented by the Boeotian authorities. Evidently he would have anchored at Aulis had he been able.

The use of the straits and the Euripus as a thoroughfare hardly requires proof. Compare what Hawkins (in Walpole's *Memoirs*, i. 545) says. After noting the dangers of the Aegean, he continues 'these remarks, however, apply *only* to the open navigation of the Aegean, for there was still a very practicable passage in the worst seasons for vessels between the mainland and the neighbouring island of Euboea, where the smoothness of the water enabled them to take every advantage of local winds and the land breezes. I speak here from personal experience, having myself navigated the two Euboean gulfs in all seasons, the spring excepted, without any material obstacle or impediment.' Again, p. 549, he quotes Thucydides viii. 96 τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ὡς ἦλθε τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν γεγενημένα ἐκπληξίς μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὶν παρέστη. Not the disaster in Sicily had frightened them so much: τοσαύτη ἡ ξυμφορὰ ἐπεγεγένητο ἐν ἡ ναὺς τε καὶ τὸ μέγιστον Εὐβοίαν ἀπωλωλέκεσαν, ἐξ ἧς πλείω ἢ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὠφελοῦντο, and continues 'now the loss of subsidies and of a supply of provisions from the single island of Euboea will not sufficiently account for the feeling here described unless we add to these assigned causes the prospect of having all communication cut off between Athens and the northern parts of Greece and Macedonia. . . . In this enlarged sense, then, I take the passage above quoted from Thucydides, the loss of Euboea alone, unconnected with the free navigation of the Euboean gulfs and of the Euripus not being sufficient to account for the alarm occasioned by the news of its defection'. He also quotes Livy xxxi. 23 *ut terra Thermopylarum*

¹ Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 276: 'still less cogent is the argument relating to Aulis. For the assembling of such a fleet as the story describes the choice of a convenient central position in sheltered waters would be suggested by the most elementary notions of strategy.' Compare the sketch by Dodwell's artist, ii. 150.

angustiae Graeciam, ita mari fretum Euripi claudit. Not only were the straits navigable, but all important as a thoroughfare between north and south. The Argonauts passed through it from south to north (Apollod. i. 142 διὰ τῆς Εὐβοίας καὶ τῆς Λοκρίδος). In the Persian wars the Greek fleet twice passed through it (Herod. vii. 173, viii. 86); once it anchored at Chalcis to protect the Euripus (ib. vii. 183). Polyb. v. 109 Φίλιππος ποιησάμενος τοῦ πλοῦν δι' Εὐρίπου καὶ τοῦ περὶ Μαλέαν.¹ Apollod. ii. 132 Συλέα ἐν Αὐλίδι τοὺς παριόντας ξένους σκάπτειν ἀναγκάζοντα (cf. Ap. Rhod. ii. 132): it was a port on a thoroughfare. Procopius, *bell. Goth.* iv. 6. 20 notices the short tides, the traffic, and the windlessness (καίπερ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνέμων τινὸς ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιπνεύσαντος, ἀλλὰ γαλήνης τε βαθείας τινὸς καὶ νηνεμίας ἐνταῦθα οὔσης). Agamemnon's ships did not anchor literally, they were drawn up on the beach; moreover, the fleet in general did not pass through the Euripus, it remained drawn up in and near Aulis. The Thesalian ships came through the Euripus, a familiar manœuvre to them.

We cannot hope to recover the details, minor causes, and motives of the heroic age, but we can weigh probabilities. What are the natural defects of Aulis—used as a port in the historical period and accepted without hesitation by Greek historical opinion—against the supposition that Boeotia, unable to get Καδμῆς and Thebes into the text, to substitute Κάδμειοι for Βοιωτοί in the Catalogue and send Thersander to Troy, should have succeeded in appointing a dangerous and useless harbour as Agamemnon's rendezvous? The Thracian or Heliconian Muses were at least till about 750 in active opposition to the Homeridae, 'Homer' and 'Hesiod' contended at Delos. To Hesiod, before whom we know of no 'Boeotian poet', Aulis already had this association. Moreover if we talk of forgery, consider Athens. The Athenians were credited with forgery: but they did nothing for themselves in Homer. Dares in his manual made Agamemnon return to Phalerum, and the fifth-century versions of the Delos-Delphi story made Leto or Apollo set foot on land at Athens. The Homeric text was not affected by these manœuvres. How are we to suppose that Boeotia had better machinery at its disposal? And what did it effect? not a single aristia. Only Aulis, a port

¹ See Shewan, l. c. I collect a few more passages which imply the same view of the straits. Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 26 *Aulis capaci nobilis portu.* Scymnus 495 the Boeotian harbours which look to Cyprus, Egypt, and the islands are περὶ τὴν Αὐλίδα. They are not so precarious as to be inaccessible. Dionysius Calliphontis f. has Aulis, πρὸς ἢ λιμὴν, and the Euripus within four lines (88 sqq.). For mediaeval evidence see Appendix, p. 172.

selected for practical reasons. The great states in the *Iliad* are Mycenae and Pylos: if the first place were enviable, why are they not first? We may as well ask why Phocis is third.

Lemnos is a real invention. Would they have found it? or kept together on the way?—these reluctant and inexperienced seamen. Even on the return, when they knew the way, what adventures they had! And how they landed in Teuthrania by mistake and fought Telephus under a misapprehension!¹ Agamemnon would not have found many contingents at Lemnos. Compare Mr. Shewan, l. c., p. 8.

Moreover, on the return, γ 174, God bade them 'cut across the sea' from Lesbos to Euboea, that is, to Geraestus.

Yet another and a more difficult question in this section is, Why does the Catalogue begin with Boeotia? Here we are in a region where all arguments are from probability, ἀπ' εἰκότων; and how can we imagine we hold the probability of the heroic age? Formerly (*C. R.* 1909, p. 91) I took the ancient view (following the scholiast on B 494) that the list began with Boeotia by way of a compliment to the Boeotians, in whose country the armada assembled. But what do we know about compliments? Boeotia was not important under Agamemnon's sovereignty, either in itself or in the poems, and it is not probable that if the rendezvous at Aulis was chosen for practical motives that there would be any connexion between it and beginning the Catalogue with the Boeotians. Even the scholiast remarks that if Boeotia owed her situation to her numerous villages, Crete with her hundred towns deserved the preference. Accordingly it seems as though the order of the Catalogue—which itself had nothing to do with the muster against Troy—were due to other and entirely non-political reasons. Mr. Arkwright says in a letter 'the Catalogue takes Boeotia, the Minyae, and the Phocians as a kind of central unity. Then comes a periplus round the outer coast, disregarding the gulf of Corinth, and putting in the states which did not touch the outer sea next to the nearest state which did touch it' [i. e. Mycenae, &c., behind Argos, and Arcadia behind Pylos]. The

¹ Strabo 10. Even the Ionian migration produced many similar mistakes.—As to Ulysses and Idomeneus (τ 186 sqq.) Ulysses was making for Aulis when he was caught by the wind at Malea. The wording does not prevent Idomeneus either from having gone to Troy via Aulis, though in his case and that of Tlepolemus, Nireus, and the Coans it is conceivable that they were not asked, as it were, to go back to Greece. There would be no doubt of their enthusiasm. 'Achilles', says Mr. Leaf, 'would not have left the Pagasaeon gulf.' I do not see why not; the Thessalians certainly did, they knew the way and avoided the open sea as long as they could. But Achilles was not on the Pagasaeon gulf by page 105 of Mr. Leaf's book. He was at Trachis, next door.

Catalogue was a kind of survey, and the Cataloguer began with Central Greece because it was the centre. So Scylax 113 begins his diaphragma ἀπὸ Εὐρίπου τοῦ κατὰ Χαλκίδα. The isthmus was the central point of Greece and natural to start from, and if Boeotia, as appears probable, came down to the isthmus (with Nisa), this is the reason why the Catalogue begins with Boeotia and not with Phocis or Locris.

2. The Orchomenians send thirty ships, under Ascalaphus and Ialmenus. Their pedigree through their mother for three generations to Clymenus (one step further than in Homer) is given by Pausanias ix. 37. 7; Clymenus' son was Erginus, Apollod. ii. 67 sqq.

The independence of Orchomenus and Aspledon—asserted by the size of the remains as well as by tradition—is respected. There is no hint of a Boeoto-Theban confederacy of which Orchomenus should be a member (Strabo 401). Yet from the Dorian immigration till its restoration by Alexander, Orchomenus lost its autonomy. So the Thebans, who we are to believe fabricated Aulis, and inserted the Boeotian name in place of the Cadmean, were helpless to embody a new political fact in the Catalogue. They adjoined Orchomenus to their political system ἐργψ, but not ἐπει. In this case the 'cantonal' system was heroic; the post-Dorian circumstances established the larger unit.

On the other hand, there is no encouragement of Orchomenian pretensions to a sea-coast, or recollection of one, which it must have had when it belonged to the Calaurian Amphictiony (Strabo 374), to which period the 'Ionian war' (Nic. Damasc. fr. 53, *F. H. G.* iii, p. 395)¹ may belong. The Orchomenians apparently shipped their men at their old port, Larymna.

3. The Phocians send forty ships under Schedius and Epistrophus, sons of Iphitus, sons of Naubolides. We have the same pedigree in Apoll. Rhod. i. 207, taken one step farther to Ornytus, but Apollodorus, i. 86, says that Deion son of Aeolus, king of Phocis, begat Αἰνετός, Ἀκτωρ, Φύλακος (ancestor of Protesilaus), and Κέφαλος, and the connexion seems doubtful. No father is assigned to Ornytus, but when we read that Ornytion, son of Sisypheus, and therefore nephew of Deion, begat Phocus and settled Tithorea and Parnassus (Paus. ii. 4. 3, 29. 2, x. 1. 1), it is plain that the dynasty is doubly Aeolid. There further seems a probability that the Spercheus valley,

¹ The Ionian war is conceivably that which the Χαλκιδεῖς waged against the Chaliens, Orchomenians, and Thebans (Theopompus, fr. 237, see *ante*, p. 44).

between an Aeolid Phocis and an Aeolid Phthiotis, and on the road from Iolcus to Corinth, was Aeolid before Peleus landed there.

The Phocian boundaries and towns are those of history. The tomb of Schedius was shown at Daphnus (Strabo 425). One line catches the reader's eye: 519 οἱ Κυπάρισσον ἔχον Πυθῶνά τε πετρήσαν. On this entry the unhappy Phocians in the Sacred War relied to prove their title to Delphi, and no doubt they were right. Delphi was separated from Phocis and the frontier drawn at Anemorea by the Spartans (Strabo 423). We observe that neither the Amphictyonic Council, the most central Greek organization, nor the Delphic gentes, the Λαφριάδαι and Θρακίδαι (Diod. xvi. 23), were able to expunge or alter the line. Further, the mythical glories of the successive temples and the historical importance of the Pythian oracle and games find no hint or forecast. The name Δελφοί does not appear. An Apolline temple (λαϊνὸς οἶδός), famous for its wealth, is mentioned, I 404, 405, at the same place, Πυθοῖ ἐνι πετρήεσση, and apparently there is no reason to discredit the later story, according to which Agamemnon consulted Pytho, even as his predecessor at Sicyon to whom the Pythia was so sympathetic as to say

καὶ δ' αὖθ' Ἰππολύτοιο φίλον κάρη εἰς ἅλα βαίνει

when he took ship (Plutarch, *Numa* 4). The French excavators have revealed a Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean period at Delphi (Dussaud 185, 186), and see Soteriades, *Revue des Études grecques*, 1912, 253 sqq.

4. The Locrians send forty ships with Ajax, son of Oileus. Eustathius, 277. 17, with no source except οἱ παλαιοί, takes his pedigree through Oileus, Hodædous, Cynus to Opus, or even farther. The local character of the race is manifest (Cynus is father of Larymna, Paus. ix. 23. 7).

The Locrians occupy their historical position. There is no hint of another section of the race, of colonies, or of the legislative celebrity which Pindar had at his disposal when he wrote for an Opuntian patron (*Ol.* ix). Their situation—which agrees with the inland position of Orchomenus and the relatively small Orchomenian contingent—is defined as 'opposite Euboea'. So Anthedon is described by Theolytus ἐν τοῖς Βαγχικοῖς ἔπρην, ap. Athen. 296 A :

Ἀνθηδών νύ τις ἔστιν ἐπὶ πλευροῖο θαλάσσης
ἀντίον Εὐβοίης, σχεδὸν Εὐρίπιοιο ῥοάων.

The word *πέραν* in ordinary Greek had the meanings 'opposite' and 'across', but it has been held that 'opposite' is post-Homeric (e.g. by Solmsen, *K. Z.* xxxiv. 558): but there are so many passages where *πέραν* or a paraphrase occurs as clearly meaning 'opposite', that the distinction becomes untenable: e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 200 Χαλκίδος *πέραν* of Aulis, Sophocles, fr. 19. 4, Nauck τὸν ἀντίπλευρον κῆπον *Εὐβοίης νέμων*, Diod. xii. 142 Λοκροὶ τῶν μὲν πρὸς *Εὐβοίαν* ἐστραμμένων οἱ πλείους, Aelian, *H. A.* iii. 35 ἐν δὲ τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀντιπέρας *Εὐβοίᾳ*, Scymnus 587 ἀπέναντι δ' *Εὐβοίης* κατοικοῦσιν Λοκροί, Paus. x. 8. 5 Λοκροὶ οἳ τε καλούμενοι Ὀζόλαι καὶ οἱ *πέραν Εὐβοίας*. The Homeric line also, though there were then no other Locrians, defined this small fishing people in terms of their great neighbour.

The description of Ajax, the less,

ἐγχείῃ δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιοῦς,

is both ambiguous and precarious, if Zenodotus athetized v. 528 and Aristarchus 529, 530. Here, however, Aristarchus' reasons are given for his athetesis, and this, as sometimes happens, takes from its cogency. They come to this, that *λινοθώρηξ* and *Πανέλληνες* are against usage. A Hesiodic origin is possible, if we look at B 568 b (*λινοθώρηκες*) and *OD.* 528 (*πανελλήνεσσι*). Still *λινοθώρηξ* recurs in the Trojan Catalogue 830. This much may be said: *Ἀχαιοῦς* cannot be general, or we contradict the specific statement about the Telamonian Ajax H 289 περὶ δ' ἔγχει Ἀχαιῶν φέρτατός ἐσσι; if *Ἀχαιοῦς* be local *Πανέλληνας* is so too, for we must not set up a false dichotomy. Then some support is lent to the placing of the Hellenes on and south of Oeta (see p. 112). Further no interpolator would have used such a word, compounded with *παν-*, in such a forgotten sense. If, lastly, it be objected that the lesser Ajax was not superior to Achilles, it may be answered that Achilles was not a Hellen, but a Myrmidon from Aegina.

Ajax's equipment agrees with the characteristics of his men (N 714 sqq.). This degree of armour, as Lang observed, *Homer and his Age*, p. 172, corresponds to the bow and arrow in offence. As a hero Ajax was above the level of his country (and hence the mention of his prowess, a strictly local merit).

Locris was also remarkable for losing heroes on account of blood-guilt, Patroclus, and Ajax's bastard brother, Medon (N 693 sq.). This coast has apparently not yet yielded monuments. On the topography see W. A. Oldfather, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1916, xxi. 32 sqq.

5. The Euboeans occupy their island, and send forty ships, the same number as the Locrians opposite them. They are not populous, and this is the case with all islands save Crete. There is no hint or prophecy of the Lelantine war, or of the wealth, trade, and colonies of Chalcis and Eretria.

6. The Athenian paragraph, containing the bare name, the number of the contingent, and two excursuses, one on Erechtheus, the other on Menestheus, should disarm the most jealous scenter of interpolation. (It did not, however; the mere merit of presence at Troy was denied the Athenians by Daphidas of Telmisa under Attalus: see Suidas in *Δαφίδας*.) This was all the most gifted Greek race, notoriously concerned with Homer since the sixth century, and credited since the fourth with forgery, was able to do for itself. Even in the affair of Sigeum Athens only claimed to have been, among the rest, at Troy.¹ It was unable to improve upon its real heroic position, that of a substantial² but undistinguished state, and to bring itself nearer its fifth-century importance in the Greek world. We learn not so much the falsity of the Pisistratus-legend—to which I venture to think the *coup de grâce* has been given³—as the unimportance of Athens till 600 or even later. The Cycle was over before this period, and the Homeric canon, so to speak, closed. Therefore the Athenians' efforts, when they began them, to introduce the Theseid dynasty and to divert heroic traffic to Athens failed (cf. p. 24). They, however, gave themselves a considerable share of nostos-colonizing; Scyllaeum, under Menestheus (Strabo 261), Chalcis and Eretria! (ib. 447), Elaea (ib. 622), Phocaea (633): Teucer was Athenian-born, of the deme *Τρῶες*, later *Ξυπετεῶν* (ib. 603). The *νεώτεροι*, of one sort or another, gave them these consolations: even Agallis gave an Athenian interpretation to the Shield of Achilles (schol. T 483), and the Atthidographi utilized Athenian transport-facilities; Agamemnon returned to Athens with the Palladium, where Demophon stole it (Clitodemus, fr. 12), the Argives landed at Phalerum (Phanodemus, fr. 12). They had some excuse if already by the time of Croesus Athens had become the port for Delphi.⁴

¹ They on the same occasion denied the Aeolic race peculiar rights in the Troad. How could they have done this if the Trojan war, as we are often told now, had been a war of colonization?

² If it sent fifty ships (forty in one or two MSS.). The abundant crop of Mycenaean remains in Athens and Attica is well known.

³ J. A. Scott, *Classical Philology*, 1911, 419 sqq.; *C. Q.* 1913, 33 sqq.

⁴ Similarly Athens appropriated the Apollo-legend.

These were late efforts, and also left the Homeric text intact. What Athenian enterprise might have done to Homer, had it set to work in good time to produce an Attic Catalogue and Iliad, has been shown by Professor Scott (l. c., p. 427).

7. Salamis. That one small island so close to Athens should have been independent at the time of the Trojan war and under an Aeacid may seem singular. But it was independent till Pisistratus took it.¹ Our views of probability must shape themselves to the data, and among these to the conception of Athens as an unaggressive power. The tribe *Αἰαντίς*, it is true, considered the Telamonian Ajax its ancestor (Dem. *Epitaph.* lx. 31), but we do not know when the claim was made, or if it rested on anything better than verbal resemblance, a potent motive with heralds time out of mind.

After the single line (557) in which Ajax's contingent is described (*Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαῖδεκα νῆας*), the vulgate reads the celebrated verse 558 (*στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἔν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες*). This line is omitted by two papyri, the elder of which is of s. ii p. c., and by many mediaeval MSS. In Quintilian's day it was absent from some editions (v. 40). Aristarchus athetized it (on Γ 230), but not on political grounds. The Megarean antiquaries it is well known² charged the Pisistratean age with its fabrication, and propounded a version of their own which had the effect of putting their towns under Ajax's sovereignty. I argued (*C. R.* l. c.) to the falsity of the whole attack upon this line, and that its absence from the MSS. in question was the result of the legend. However, it is better to avoid the imputation of special pleading, and to let the verse fall in with the other lines preserved in a minority of Homeric MSS., of which we do not hesitate to say that they are additions. Additions were made, as I have tried to show, *C. Q.* 1913, 221, mainly from literature, not by direct invention; and at two periods principally—the late-epic (Hesiod, the Cycle, the Hymns) and the Alexandrian—, owing to the pressure of poems in the Homeric style dealing with similar themes, and usually with the semi-conscious aim of amplifying or elucidating Homer. This line may have come from Hesiod,³

¹ Strabo 395 argues that Salamis was independent in the heroic age. One of his arguments is that the priestess of Athena, Polias, who used foreign cheese, used Salaminian.

² For the authorities see my article *C. R.* 1901, 8 sqq.

³ The smaller variant in 562, *νῆσόν τ'* for *οἱ τ' ἔχον*, which was read by Strabo 275, and stands in the Certamen 292, is taken back to Hesiod by fr. 96. 7. The

like A 265 and (probably) λ 631. Though suppositious it by no means bore the fraudulent meaning which the Megareans put upon it, unless we are to include in the same condemnation 526 (but no one charged the Boeotians with interpolating this line to base a claim to Phocis on it) and 587. It was meant to eke out the Catalogue at a weak point. Even by the Megarean statement the line has the considerable antiquity of the sixth century. Pindar, who uses Ajax as an Athenian (*Nem.* ii), probably read it.

The historical state of Megara was notoriously among those without a mention in Homer: the poet included it in Attica, according to Strabo 392, doing sad violence to the tribal principles with which Mr. Leaf invests him. Two views of the position of this country were prevalent. The Megareans themselves, as we know from Strabo 394, put themselves under Ajax, and invented a singular verse with which to do it. This had no effect outside their antiquaries. They, however, imposed their existence upon Hesiod (fr. 96. 8), as one of a number of places on or near the Saronic gulf, of which Ajax offers the plunder for Helen's *beaux yeux*. This, no doubt, they did to escape the worse fate of the Athenian version, and may have read the plundering (*συνελάσας*) into a permanent conquest. It was the best they could do for themselves, to interpolate themselves into the Salamis-entry. They could not contrive a new paragraph.

The Athenians claimed the whole of Megara, or nearly the whole. Strabo 392: all the Atthidographers, e. g. Philochorus and Andron, agree that the kingdom of Nisus, fourth son of Pandion, included Megara, though they differed about the boundaries; and the view goes back to Sophocles at least (fr. 19, Nauck). The legend in Plato, *Critias* 110 D, brought Attica to the Isthmus. Ap. Rhod. i. 93 has ἐν Ἀτθίδι νήσῳ of Salamis. Neither side admitted, as is generally done now, that the Boeotian Νῆσα (B 508) was Νῆσαια the port of Megara. In that case Boeotia would have come down to the Saronic gulf. Unwillingness to admit this no doubt accounts for the profusion of variants on Νῆσαν (*Ισον, Κρεῖσαν, Νῦσαν, and even Φεράς).¹ Far from accepting Νῆσα, the Megareans inserted Νῆσαια in their rival version. They experienced, we are

Certamen also supplies, no doubt from a Hesiodic source, variants in 565, 567, a line after 563, and two lines after 568.

¹ Dionysius Calliphontis f. (*Geog. gr. min.* i) v. 101 puts it near Plataea.

told, a revulsion from Boeotia after Leuctra (Polyb. xx. 4. 1, 6. 5).¹

A reflection of a perhaps original connexion between Megara and Boeotia appears in the story that Megareus, who gave his name to the country, came from Onchestus: Hellanicus, fr. 47, Apollodorus iii. 15. 8, Scymnus 505, Plutarch, *Qu. graec.* 16, Paus. i. 39. 4.

¹ Salamis and Megara contain Mycenaean remains: Thompson, l. c., p. 130, Dussaud, pp. 176, 179.

CHAPTER II

PELOPONNESUS

8. WE next approach the Peloponnesus, and that we do so with Argos, and not with Corinth, supports Mr. Arkwright's view (p. 51) that the Catalogue here becomes a periplus.

The Argive section sends the greatest number of ships that we have yet met, eighty. This number is justified by the extent of its territory and coast-line, which contains several important places outside the valley of the Inachus, familiar to us in history as independent communities, Troezen, Epidaurus, and especially Aegina. These places, together with Hermione, Asine, Eiones, and Mases, are under three princes, Diomedes the Aetolian (whose father Tydeus had migrated to Argos in the generation before, being like Patroclus, Tlepolemus, Medon, Phoenix, and others under blood-guilt, married an Argive princess, and distinguished himself in the Theban war), Euryalus son of Mecisteus (who had boxed at Thebes at Oedipus' wake, Ψ 675), son of Talaus, and Sthenelus son of Capaneus. This is the first case where the command is divided between representatives of different lines.

The reason is to be sought in the history of Argolis. This land, which we usually regard as a unity, natural and political, was according to tradition now single now divided, geographically, and the property of many dynasties. The legends, substantially the same, are to be found in Apollodorus ii,¹ Strabo 372-7, Diodorus iv. 68, Pausanias ii. 15 sqq. At the beginning Acrisius was at Argos, Proetus at Tiryns, Midea, and the Heraeum; Perseus built Mycenae (and Midea according to Apollodorus) and united the country (less Argos according to Apollodorus). It remained in his line down to Eurystheus.

¹ Apollodorus quotes Acusilaus, Hesiod, Castor, Pherecydes, Asclepiades, Cecrops, Euripides, the tragedians, the author of the *Nóστοι*. Pausanias' sources (ii. 1. 2) were Hesiod, other post-Homeric epics such as Eumelus, the *Ναυνάκτια* ἔπη, Cinaethon, and Asius: Acusilaus and Hellanicus.—Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 14 sqq., touches on the quarrels between the Argive princes. Cf. also Menaechmus, *scriptt. rer. Alex.*, p. 145.

On Eurystheus' death the country was divided, and various royal lines, coming with curious uniformity from the west of Peloponnesus, obtained the sovereignty of portions. Thucydides i. 9¹ makes Atreus succeed Eurystheus at Mycenae; according to Apollodorus ii. 56 the Atridae were given Midea by Sthenelus. The Atridae came in the first instance from Pisatis (other Pelopidae from Pisatis founded Troezen, Strabo 374). The Amythaonidae, in two branches, Biantidae and Melampodidae,² also came from Pisatis, and from Triphylia home of prophets. This line produced Talaus (an Argonaut, Ap. Rhod. i. 118) and Adrastus. Pausanias, who gives us the number of their generations (v. 18. 4), regards them as all but extinct at the time of the Trojan war. Accordingly, of the leaders in the Catalogue Euryalus represents the Biantidae (Pausanias regards him as guardian, together with Diomede, of Cyanippus grandson of Adrastus), Sthenelus son of Capaneus represented the native and superior house, the Anaxagoridae descended from Proetus. Thus the three leaders are accounted for.

The frontier between Argos and Mycenae did not occur again. Mycenae showed independent action from Argos in the Persian war (as Strabo says 372 fin.), but so did Tiryns also according to Paus. v. 23. 2. The extension, again, of the Argive territory to the south shore of the Saronic gulf occurs only in Homer.

This state, though strange to later history,³ seems to have existed at the beginning of the Dorian period, and to have perpetuated itself as a religious union till late times. At least the members of the Temenid family are described as acquiring these places at the Dorian immigration. The taking of Epidaurus is described by Pausanias, l. c.⁴ τοῦτον [the king Pityreus] παραδοῦναι λέγουσιν ἀμαχεὶ τὴν γῆν Δηιφόντῃ καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀθήνας ὁμοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθα ῥῆκε, Δηιφόντης δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν ἔσχον: of Troezen, ib. 30. 10 Ἡρακλειδῶν γὰρ κατελθόντων ἐδέξαντο καὶ οἱ Τροιζήνιοι συνοίκους Δωριέων τῶν ἐξ Ἀργους, καὶ πρότερον ἔτι Ἀργείων ὄντες κατήκοοι καὶ σφᾶς καὶ Ὀμηρος ἐν καταλόγῳ φησὶν ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἄρχεσθαι: of Aegina, ib. 29. 4 μοῖρα Ἀργείων τῶν Ἐπίδανρον . . .

¹ These chapters show Thucydides working δι' ὑπομνημάτων as clearly as any antiquarian. He mentions poets and λογογράφοι, and Hellanicus by name.

² A partial genealogy of this line is given o 241 sqq.

³ The local legend at Epidaurus gave it an independent king down to the Dorian invasion (Paus. ii. 26. 1): this resembles the case of Corinth. It was local history that defended the 'canton'; the Catalogue merged it.

⁴ Hesiod apparently conveyed the same idea by making Argus father of Epidaurus, *Ἡοῖαι*, fr. 162.

κατασχόντων διαβάσα εἰς Αἴγιαν . . . τὰ Δωριέων ἔθη καὶ φωνὴν κατεστήσαντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ: of Hermione, 34. 5 ἐπώκησαν . . . Ἑρμιόνα ὕστερον Δωριεῖς οἱ ἐξ Ἄργους. It might therefore appear as if, when we apply the *cui bono?* question to Argos, the answer might be returned for the first time that there were people whose interest the entry in the Catalogue served.

It is, however, not ascertained that these places, though settled from Argos, were subject to it for any long period after the Dorian invasion (it is obvious that they were not permanently), or formed at any time a state of the political coherence of Boeotia under Thebes (as Grote maintained, vol. ii, ed. 1846, p. 416, a statement copied into the later books). There is only Phidon to whom the conditions possibly apply. Phidon is credited with sovereignty over these parts,¹ but the conclusion is uncertain, and it has been maintained that the tradition of Phidon's empire was a misinterpretation of the wide acceptance of his currency regulations.² What we have real proof of is a religious union with a centre in the temple of Apollo Πυθαεὺς at Argos. This appears in several well-known stories (Busolt, ed. 2, i. 222): namely, the fine imposed by the Argives on the Aeginetans and Sicyonians, Herod. vi. 92; the failure of the Epidaurians to send their offering to Apollo at Argos, Thuc. v. 53; the offer of the Messenians in a matter in dispute with Sparta παρὰ Ἀργείοις συγγενέσιν οὖσιν ἀμφοτέρων ἐν Ἀμφικτυονίᾳ διδόναι δίκας, as if the association were a religious one (Paus. iv. 5. 2). Accordingly, the coincidence between the subjects of Diomedes, Sthenelus, and Euryalus, and the members of this Amphictyony, may be explained by supposing that what had been a political subjection in the days of the powerful heroic Argive monarchy (its power is shown apparently by the submission of the Theban Heracles to Eurystheus of Mycenae, certainly by the two wars which Argos waged against Thebes, which extirpated the house of Cadmus and left such a lasting impression on the Greek recollection) lingered in Dorian times as a religious association under the leadership of Argos. This without prejudice to a revival of the kingdom in its heroic extent by Phidon, who however required more than the Catalogue to justify his 'league', if that included Corinth and Phlius.

To suppose that Phidon dictated the passage in the Catalogue to

¹ The texts, all of them late, are collected by F. Cauer, *Argolis*, in Pauly-Wissowa.

² See Lehmann-Haupt in Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. iii, 11 and 104; Pöhlmann in *Müllers Handbuch d. class. Altertums-wissenschaft*, 1914, vol. v, iii. 4, p. 61.

give himself a title to the places in question—which is the alternative—is open to several objections. Apart from the uncertain character of Phidon's power his traditional date is ol. 8 = 748 B.C., and this is maintained by Lehmann-Haupt, l. c., and such an early period is required by the rise of Aegina to independence. Now in the eighth century what could an Argive monarch do to Homer? If Homer were known to mainland Greece at all he was made known by the great wandering rhapsodes such as Cynaethus. The authority of the Homeridae, which must have tended to guard the text, cannot yet have been extinct. It is to about this period that the removal of the poems from Samos by Lycurgus, or the copy of them made for him, is ascribed. No legend credited Phidon in the eighth century with the exploits of Pisistratus in the sixth. The working of influence from the Cyclic and the Hesiodic corpus upon the Homeric text may be traced, here and there, in the course of centuries; but at ol. 8 the Aethiopis and the *Hoïai* were at best being sung for the first time. In the fragment of the Catalogi mentioned above, 96. 4 sqq., the same towns in substance make their appearance; but as Corinth and Megara are added to them it cannot be asserted that the section in Homer is an echo of Hesiod, even if the Hesiodic writer gave the towns to Argos, of which there is no proof. An addition of this kind to the Homeric text at a later time is imperiously forbidden by the Aeginetan naval power, if not, indeed, by the Aeginetan membership of the league of Calauria much earlier.¹

It seems probable then that the Catalogue preserves the memory of a wide-spreading Argolic state, never entirely or for long realized afterwards.

It is strange that Aegina, considering its later glory, is given a bare mention (and never recurs in the poems). No doubt heroic history made it desolate exactly at this moment (after Aeacus' and Phocus' death Telamon had gone to Salamis and Peleus to Iolcus, Paus. ii. 29. 2), but it is remarkable that the island, with its divine past, of which Pindar makes so much (*Nem.* iii, iv, v, *Isthm.* v, vi, vii), and its sixth-century splendour acquiesced in finding no past, prophecy, or title in Homer. In a century when Pisistratus was forging at his will, his much more powerful rivals were helpless.

The position of this section with regard to Mr. Leaf's theory that the Catalogue championed cantons and communes against the centralized

¹ The first Trojan war was made by Aegina and Thebes; Pindar, *Isthm.* v. 45, vi. 39, *Nem.* iv. 40, fr. 172, probably Hesiod *Hoïai* (in the schol. *Isthm.* vi. 53).

monarchies of the Achæan period is striking. The Catalogue is the only witness to the Argive monarchy at its greatest, when the independence of the important coast-towns on the Saronic gulf and the great island of Aegina was merged in it.

9 and 10. The most important political difference between the Greece of the Catalogue and the Greece of history—so important as to entirely change the balance of power within the whole nation, and to produce a concentration of influence never afterwards experienced—is found in the domain of Agamemnon. This consists of Mycenæ, Corinth, Cleonæ, Orneæ, Araethyrea [identified with Phlius¹], Sicyon, Hyperesia, Gonoessa, Pellene, Aegium, 'all the Aegialus', and Helice. Of these places Cleonæ, Orneæ, and Gonoessa are mountain-villages, Cleonæ on the road to Corinth from Argos, Orneæ and Gonoessa² at the head of the Asopus-valley, on the lower course of which river Phlius and Sicyon stand. Mycenæ is the only place on the south side of the mountains, and the only place in the later Argolis.

Agamemnon, therefore, commanded the isthmus and the passes into Arcadia, and owned the greater part of the coast of the later Achæa. Between his last town (Aegium) and the frontier of Elis are six of the twelve Ionian towns given by Herodotus, i. 145, viz. Rhypes, Patrae, Pharae, Olenus, Dyme, Tritaea. The πέτρῃ Ὠλενίῃ (B 617), which suggests the district of Olenus, is the apparent Elean frontier; between this and Aegium there is a considerable region vacant, the country descending from Mount Panachaicus to Rhium. It is not clear how we are to imagine this disposed of. His brother Menelaus was in Sparta, and the entry (586) which says

τῶν οἱ ἀδελφεὸς ἦρχε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος
ἐξήκοντα νεῶν· ἀπάτερθε δὲ θωρήσσοντο

seems, while it asserts the military independence of the Lacedæmonians, to imply that they virtually counted among Agamemnon's resources. The position was so regarded by Strabo, who says (372) καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν Λακωνικὴν τῇ Μυκηναίᾳ προσέθηκε. As also he lent sixty transports to Agapenor to convey the Arcadians to Troy—and it is to be noticed that Arcadians and Agapenor do not recur in the poems—we see that his influence was unbroken from the isthmus to Taenarum. Dictys (i. 17) in fact calls the Arcadians his dependents.

¹ Strabo 382. Φλίας δ' αὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν Ἀραιθυρέθεν ἵκανε, Ap. Rhod. i. 115.

² From here came Cypselus, Paus. v. 18. 7.

The archaeological evidence for the northern part of Agamemnon's domains is derived from the excavations of the American School of Archaeology at Corinth. An account of these up to 1910 is given by Mr. R. B. Richardson in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1910, vol. vii, 148 sqq. (the details of the excavations are in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1896-1906). The agora of the historical city, the fountain Pirene, and various other buildings were discovered; 'the excavations brought to light vases and fragments of vases of nearly every period except the Mycenaean'. On the north side of the hill interments with pre-Mycenaean vases were found. The researches were not pursued further up towards the Acro-Corinthus. However, in the last few years excavation has been resumed. The official account has not yet been published, but Mr. Wace has circulated a statement from which I quote: 'So far the researches of the Americans have revealed ten prehistoric settlements at Corinth or in its immediate neighbourhood. The first is the hill on which stand the ruins of the temple of Apollo, overlooking the agora' [this according to the plan in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is to the north of the agora, i.e. nearer the sea], 'this site has been much spoilt from the excavator's point of view, because when the temple was built the top of the mound was cut off . . . and the whole site levelled. . . . Various kinds of early wares have been found here, notably Early Helladic,¹ and some of a northern type that recall those of the first three Thessalian periods found in Phocis and Boeotia. Very few Mycenaean sherds have been found, but it is hoped that careful exploration will produce good stratigraphical results, although probably the Mycenaean layer being uppermost has been much if not entirely upset by the temple-builders.' This result shows us that the site of the classical Corinth was inhabited certainly in pre-Mycenaean times: here lived the Aeolid dynasty, Sisyphus and Glaucus, and here is the Aeolid ('Minyan' and Thessalian) pottery which they used. We must wait for more research before we can say for certain that the Atridae inhabited the same spot; but that a dynasty and race who built ports and valley and hill-villages round a central acropolis inhabited the acropolis is a moral certainty. Even without the excavations the argument would have been as true.

'The second site is at Korako on the sea about one kilometre east of Lechaëum . . .; this was the Corinthian-gulf port of this

¹ For this terminology see Wace and Blegen, *B. S. A.* xxii. 175 sqq.

district in pre-Hellenic times. It has a sandy beach well adapted for light sailing craft. The excellent stratification gives a fine pottery sequence through the three Helladic periods with Early Helladic, Minyan, and Matt painted, and Mycenaean pottery parallel to the pottery sequences from Crete and the Cyclades. Remains of houses of the Middle Helladic and Mycenaean periods have been found.' 'West of classical Corinth are three more sites; one twenty minutes due west and not very large; one about forty-five minutes westward in a branch of the valley of the Longopotamo, guarding the road from Cleonae to Corinth, a fine acropolis . . . with Early Helladic, Minyan, and Mycenaean pottery; the third is at the church of Ayios Yerasimos, a little west of Lechaeum, where only Early Helladic ware has been found. To the east are Gonia and Yiriza. Both these sites . . . guard the road coming from the south between the Acro-Corinth and Mount Oneion. Gonia has yielded pottery of the second Thessalian period—Early Helladic, Minyan, and Mycenaean wares—, while Yiriza has only produced Early Helladic. The other two sites are at Cenchreae, and on the east bank of the ravine running past the walls of classical Corinth on the way to Examilia.'

We must form our criticism of the account in Homer according to these newly acquired facts. The hill of Corinth, inhabited in the prae-Mycenaean period and evidently in the Mycenaean, was surrounded on the sea and in the valleys on both sides by places inhabited for a long time. The conditions which made the historical Corinth the principal port of Greece acted in the heroic period also. The objections raised by Mr. Leaf from the difficulties of navigation and the barrenness of the soil are indifferent. Fertile or not the place was inhabited, difficult or not the sea was sailed.¹ All objections to a Homeric 'wealthy Corinth', principal city of the principal monarch of Greece, vanish. The question where Ephyra was is equally indifferent.² No one will dispute the right of the heroic Corinth to its name.

We have next to gather the Homeric picture of Corinth from the poems elsewhere than in the Catalogue, to show that the picture is consistent, and to place it in its relation to the new archaeology.

¹ Mr. Leaf's special pleading is easily dissolved by Mr. Shewan, *C. R.* 1918, 4 sqq. The subject will doubtless be dealt with in the American publication.

² Ephyra was Corinth according to Antig. Caryst. p. 170, Athen. 22 B. Simonides, fr. 84, seems to suggest that Ephyra was Acro-Corinthus, Corinth the lower site. On the four Ephyrae see Strabo 338, Agostratus and Cineas in schol. Pind. *Pyth.* x. 85, *Nem.* vii. 53 (Hippias also here).

The points which excite most incredulity at present are the Argive frontier and Agamemnon's route on his return from Troy.

Throughout the poems the Argives are treated as a separate nation ; they are not confused with Agamemnon's forces. This is obvious. When Agamemnon censures Diomedes and Sthenelus he is not criticizing his own troops, and when Sthenelus in reply vaunts the taking of Thebes he is referring to a feat in which Mycenae had no share. But the most definite admission of the existence of two states, Argos and Mycenae, with a frontier between them occurs in Agamemnon's remarks in the same passage (Δ 372 sqq.). He says he had not seen Tydeus, but had heard of his prowess from others :

ἦτοι μὲν γὰρ ἄτερ πολέμου εἰσῆλθε Μυκῆνας
ξείνος ἄμ' ἀντιθέω Πολυνείκει λαὸν ἀγείρων,
οἱ δὲ τότε ἑστρατόωνθ' ἱερὰ πρὸς τείχεα Θήβης.

That is to say at the time of the first Theban war, in the day of Atreus, Adrastus, king of Argos, sent commissioners round Greece, as Agamemnon in his turn did, to raise an army against Thebes. Among other places they came, 'in a peaceful capacity', ἄτερ πολέμου, to Mycenae, where they were unsuccessful. You do not send ambassadors to your own country. Therefore in the body of the poem, as in the Catalogue, Corinth-Sicyon-Mycenae are one state, and Argos-Tiryns-Epidaurus, &c., another. It needed a bad antiquarian, like Euripides (Strabo 377), to treat Argos and Mycenae as identical. Mr. Chadwick seems to have overlooked this passage (*Heroic Age*, p. 388 n.). In the phrase ϕ 107 :

οἷη νῦν οὐκ ἔστι γυνὴ κατ' Ἀχαιῖδα γαῖαν,
οὔτε Πύλου ἱερῆς οὔτ' Ἀργεὸς οὔτε Μυκῆνης
οὔτ' αὐτῆς Ἰθάκης οὔτ' ἠπείροιο μελαίνης,

the names seem to be mutually exclusive.¹

The account of Agamemnon's nostos is equally conclusive. δ 512 (Proteus to Menelaus) :

σὸς δέ που ἔκφυγε κῆρας ἀδελφεὸς ἢδ' ὑπάλυξεν
ἐν νηυσὶ γλαφυρῇσι· σάωσε δὲ πότνια Ἥρη.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ἔμελλε Μαλειῶν ὄρος αἰπὸν
ἵεσθαι, τότε δὴ μιν ἀναρπάξασα θέελλα
πόντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα φέρειν βαρέα στενάχοντα,

¹ Paus. ii. 18, 5 Orestes παροικῶν ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ [sc. to Cylarabis son of Sthenelus] took Argos.

ἀγροῦ ἐπ' ἔσχατήν, ὅθι δώματα ναῖε Θυέστης
τὸ πρῖν, ἀτὰρ τότε ἔναϊε Θυεστιάδης Αἴγισθος.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ κεῖθεν ἐφαίνετο νόστος ἀπῆμων,
ἂψ δὲ θεοὶ οὖρον στρέψαν καὶ οἴκαδ' ἵκοντο,
ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν χαίρων ἐπεβήσето πατρίδος αἴης.

Agamemnon made a good voyage from Troy until he had all but arrived at Malea. He had no misfortunes before, he was not brought against his will to Malea; he intended to pass it. Why? and whither? The answer is obvious, now that we know that Cenchreae was an ancient site. (Perhaps the existence of Cenchreae might have been inferred from probability, as we infer that the Acrocorinthus was inhabited.¹ Anyhow we now know that Cenchreae was an ancient port.) Now Agamemnon, if he were going to land at Cenchreae, would never have made for Malea. Even to the darkened intelligence of writers about Homer this must be evident. On the other hand with a port at Cenchreae Agamemnon would have never gone all the way round the Peloponnesus to Lechaëum, or to the unnamed Mycenaean port between Lechaëum and the isthmus. Where did he go, when God changed the wind? He went to the port of Sparta, Gythion or Helos.² This was why he tried to get round Malea.

Neither in δ nor in λ does Homer name the place where Agamemnon died. The passage in δ merely continues to the effect that Aegisthus set an ambush for him. So far, therefore, as epos goes there is no prejudice. Now Pindar, most antiquarian of poets, states that Agamemnon died at Amyclae (*Pyth.* xi. 47). Here was the tomb of Agamemnon, and temple and statue of Alexandra whom the Amycleans held to be Cassandra. Stesichorus, fr. 29, and Simonides, fr. 207, say that Agamemnon's palace was at Lacedaemon, and that he and Menelaus were worshipped there: Staphylus, fr. 10, repeats the statement of Agamemnon. None of these writers had any particular interest in Sparta. On the other hand the Spartan kings as we know welcomed the Achaean connexion and allowed the legend to stand. It was from Amyclae that Orestes, according to Pindar, *Nem.* xi. 46, started to colonize Tenedos. Lastly, if Agamemnon were murdered

¹ Certainly Homer's silence is nothing against its existence. Cf. Shewan, l. c.

² This way Helen fled, and here the Arcadians were embarked. The mention of the island Κρωναῖ in Helen's flight suggests that Gythion is implied. On the site see Forster, *B. S. A.* xiii. 219 sqq. Agamemnon must have found it more convenient to assemble his Corinthian, Arcadian, and Spartan forces there than at Cenchreae on the extreme edge of his dominions.

in Lacedaemon, we understand Telemachus' question γ 249 ποῦ Μενέλαος ἔην; which gave much trouble to the ancients (Strabo 365). If the murder took place at Corinth or at Mycenae why indeed should Menelaus have been there?

I make a few more comments. The place to which the winds blew Agamemnon was, according to Andron¹ (*F. H. G.* ii. 350), Cythera. Here Thyestes had his holding² (he was banished there according to Tzetzes, *Chil.* i. 461). I argued against this formerly, but an unsolicited testimony shows that one may be 'blown aside' from Malea to Cythera. Lord Elgin's ship the *Mentor*, according to the account in *J. H. S.* 1916, p. 241, 'reached Cape Taenarum at 6 p.m. on the 16th. A strong west wind blew during the night, which changed in the morning to west-north-west. Tacking, the vessel was driven forty miles to the south. Much water was being made at the bows . . . for this reason, and because the wind increased during the morning of the 17th, it was necessary to make for some harbour. On the advice of the pilot (Manoles Malis of Melos) it was determined to make for Cerigo. They reached Aulemono or S. Nikolo bay at 2 p.m. and cast two anchors.' (Deposition of captain before British Vice-consul.) Taenarum is to be sure further west than Malea, but the parallel will serve. You did not make for Malea (I should think not! Μαλέας δὲ κάμψας ἐπιλάθον τῶν οἴκαδε Strabo 378) unless you had to pass it. Nestor, who passed it safely, was bound for Pylos: Ulysses and Menelaus for Ithaca and Gythion. It was classic to have misfortunes on this voyage and the winds carried you to different places, Neoptolemus to Ephyra on the Adriatic, the Euboeans to Oricus, a like fate befell Jason, Herod. iv. 179, and the Achaeans who founded Latium, Aristotle, fr. 242.³

Reluctance to accept this conclusion has led to strange expedients: Bothe put δ 517, 518 after 520, without other justification, so as to make ἀγροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατὴν κτλ. refer to οἴκαδε, namely to Agamemnon's home; but 'Homer and History' must be looked up before the reader believes that Mr. Leaf, strong in the faith which moves mountains, has levered Malea I don't know how far north, and made it an obstacle to the entry of the Argolic gulf to which Agamemnon the Argive was proceeding. Yet Diomedes, a real Argive, was in no

¹ Others sent him to Crete, Velleius, i. 1.

² The dictionary will tell Mr. Leaf that *ναίε*, *ἔναίε* do not mean 'was at' but 'owned'. Aegisthus was carrying on elsewhere, waiting where he knew Agamemnon must come.

³ For mediaeval evidence see Appendix, p. 172.

danger from Malea (γ 180) and Malea (-ae) is always the cape (between Boeae and Side, Scylax 46), never the east Laconian coast which begins at it.

The Catalogue and the body of the poems then agree in their presentation of Agamemnon's kingdom. The legend of his conquest of Sicyon is preserved in Pausanias ii. 6. 7; Hippolytus, the last king, submitted to Agamemnon in person, and this recent conquest agrees with the reference to Adrastus, B 572.¹ Agamemnon's sovereignty is recognized in the story, Ψ 296, of how Echepolus gave him a horse,

δῶρ', ἵνα μή οἱ ἔποιθ' ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἡγεμόεσσαν,
ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τέρπειτο μένων' μέγα γάρ οἱ ἔδωκε
Ζεὺς ἄφενος, ναῖεν δ' ὄγ' ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ Σικυῶνι,

and suggested in the legend that the council to decide on the war with Troy met at Aegium (Paus. vii. 24. 2).

But if historical Lacedaemon welcomed its Achaean past, and incorporated the Atridae and the Tyndarids, Corinth did not. The discrepancy between the Homeric and the Corinthian account of the heroic period is a more difficult question than the consistency of Homer. Corinth is the most important place where local history and Homer are found contradictory (Monro, l.c., p. 44). Pindar's thirteenth Olympian, the oldest post-Homeric document for Corinthian history, enumerates as the glories of Corinth Bellerophon, Pegasus, the invention of the bridle, of weights and measures, of the dithyramb, and of the pediment. Corinthians appeared at Troy, and on both sides, but there is no mention of Agamemnon, nor of Corinth as the capital of his kingdom. The national traditions carried the Sisyphid monarchy down to the coming of Aletes the Dorian, and left no room for even the few generations of the Pelopidae. Why was this the case? why did Corinth ignore the Pelopid period while Sparta welcomed it and Argos claimed it without ground?

The sources for Corinthian history other than Homer and older than Pindar are adduced by Pausanias ii. They consist of Eumelus in his *Κορινθία συγγραφή*, Asius, the *ἐπη Ναυπάκτια* (another poet-logographer was Aeson, οὐ μέμνηται Σιμωνίδης schol. Pind., l.c., 31 b). The oldest of them Eumelus was a contemporary of Archias the founder of Syracuse (s. viii) and a member of the royal house of the

¹ His identification with the Argive Adrastus is surely nothing but nominal.

Bacchiadae, who as kings or oligarchs, preceded the Cypselidae. He, it may be suggested, reflected the views of the Corinthians of his day. They preferred to ignore the Pelopid domination with its Spartan connexions, and to attach themselves directly to the Sisyphidae. The distinction of this race—Sisyphus, Bellerophon, Glaucus—may have influenced them; they may also have been influenced by the ambiguity of the Argive name and the consequent appropriation by the Temenidae of the position and glories of Agamemnon, which entailed the notion that Corinth was naturally subject to Argos, a notion which Phidon apparently tried to enforce. What Clisthenes of Sicyon felt in the sixth century they may have felt we do not know how long before, but by the eighth at least. The independence of Sicyon and the rest of 'Achaëa' left them comparatively weak before the Temenidae; in order to assert their independence they ignored the real heroic period and fell back on Sisyphus. The new archaeological evidence cannot yet be fully appreciated, but the number of prae-Mycenaean sites near Corinth, some of them without Mycenaean remains, suggests that the population remained even under the Atridae Aeolid.¹ Greek logographers found Aeolid reigning families at Corinth, in Phocis, in Phthiotis, and at Iolcus and Pherae, and there is an apparent equation to be made between this race, earlier than the Pelopidae, and the central-Greek pottery, especially perhaps the sort, conventionally known as Minyan, which is found in the same districts with the addition of Orchomenus. In this central block non-Aeolid elements were principally the Cadmeans at Thebes, the dynasty at Orchomenus, the Locrians, and the Myrmidons (shortlived intruders) at Trachis. The Corinthian house was particularly close to that of Iolcus, and accordingly it would appear the people, when Orestes disappeared, gladly reverted to their Aeolid past and dynasty. So while Homer recognized the glory of Bellerophon, who is placed a generation or more before the Trojan war, the Bacchiads and their logographer, as it were, foreshortened history and continued the Sisyphid dynasty to meet Aletes. We find similar efforts elsewhere: at Sicyon, though Agamemnon conquered Hippolytus, his son

¹ This is the name given by Greek writers to the praedorian Corinthians: Z 154 Σίσυφος Αἰολίδης, ὃ δ' ἄρα Γλαῦκον τέκεθ' υἱόν, Alcaeus, *Ox. frag.* 1233, fr. 1, col. ii, 12 Σίσυφος Αἰολίδαίς βασιλεύς. Pindar, *Ol.* xiii. 68 Αἰολίδα βασιλεῦ of Bellerophon. Thuc. iv. 42 ὁ Σολύγειος λόφος . . . ἐφ' ὃν Δωριῆς τὸ πάλαι ἰδρυθέντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Κορινθίοις ἐπολέμουν οὖσιν Αἰολεῦσι. Herodotus vii. 176 calls Thessaly γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα. As Magnes was one of the sons of Aeolus (Apollod. i. 50) the Magnes were included in the race, but apparently the southern section, who possessed Meliboea.

Lacestades was on the throne when the Dorian came (Paus. ii. 6. 7) : at Epidaurus, as we have seen (p. 60), an independent king was reigning at the time of the Temenid invasion (ib. 26. 1).

The later historians reconciled these views and the Catalogue by assuming an anachronism in the latter : *neque est quod miremur ab Homero nominari Corinthum : nam ex persona poetae et hanc urbem et quasdam Ionum colonias iis nominibus appellat, quibus vocabantur aetate eius, multo post Ilium captum conditae*, Velleius i. 3. Velleius' source is uncertain : perhaps it was Theopompus. The falsity of the view is clear from the statement about Ionia.

This determination to ignore the Pelopidae agrees with a belief which we now find in most quarters, historical and archaeological, that the Pelopid dynasty—or the bronze-iron age, if we choose so to express ourselves—was brief. The dynasty is indeed a good illustration of Mr. Chadwick's doctrine of the Heroic Age in general : it is brief, anti-national, and disappears without trace. Another example is that of the Ostrogoths. If we choose to imagine and look for the period in Corinthian history at which the Pelopids can be introduced, the departure of Bellerophon for Lycia is surely the moment ; the Joseph-motive was invented to cover the Aeolid disaster. We see why Glaucus fights on the Trojan side, if, though his house were in Corinth (as Pindar, l.c., 62, makes him say : Pindar followed Eumelus and perhaps the true tradition), Corinth was in enemies' hands. The Corinthian genealogists only required Ornytion, Bellerophon's uncle, and four generations to fill the gap (Paus. ii. 4. 3).

The political position of Agamemnon in Greece has been much disputed, and is, naturally, of importance for a correct comprehension of the Greek circumstances. Mr. Leaf has insisted, for the purposes of his contention, on one view. The latest discussion is by Mr. Shewan, *C. Q.* 1917, 146 sqq., where all the references will be found. We must let the texts speak, and they it will be seen give no very certain note.

The kingdom of Agamemnon in the Peloponnesus, from Corinth to Cythera, is beyond dispute. It is also undisputed that he exercised some kind of authority over the Greeks at large. Ulysses said to the Cyclops (ι 263) λαοὶ δ' Ἀτρεΐδew Ἀγαμέμνονος εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι | τοῦ δὴ νῦν γε μέγιστον ὑπουράνιον κλέος ἐστίν ; to his mother he says (λ 168) he had followed Agamemnon to Troy (ἐπόμεν Ἀγαμέμνονι δίω). On the other hand this 'following' was not by compulsion : Nestor (Δ 767 sqq.) describes how the commissioners,

himself and Ulysses, came to Phthia to obtain Peleus' consent to Achilles joining the army: 779

Πηλῆος δ' ἰκόμεσθα δόμους εὖ ναιετάοντας
 λαὸν ἀγείροντες κατ' Ἀχαιίδα πουλυβότειραν . . .
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάρπημεν ἔδητύος ἥδ' ἐποτῆτος
 ἦρχον ἐγὼ μύθοιο, κελεύων ὕμ' ἄμ' ἔπεσθαι,
 σφῶ δὲ μάλ' ἠθέλετον.

The commissioners had an easy task; both fathers parted with their sons on patriotic grounds (αἶ κέν τι φόως Δαναοῖσι γένηαι 797); but all the more clearly no order was given. Mobilization did not take place automatically. The Cypria in its turn describes commissioners, Nestor and Menelaus, sent round Greece to beat up the princes: epit. Procl. ἔπειτα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀθροίζουσιν (Nestor and Menelaus) ἐπελθόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Agamemnon and Menelaus 'ask' (ὀτρυνέων) Ulysses in Ithaca, ω 115 sqq.; Agamemnon went to Megara to 'persuade' (πείσων) Calchas, Paus. i. 43. 1. It is true that in Homer no one refuses. The fines imposed are both on Agamemnon's personal subjects, the horse taken from the Sicyonian Echepolus (Ψ 246), and the θωή which Euchenor of Corinth (N 663) evaded by going to the war. One of Polyctor's seven sons (Ω 400), after drawing, went to Troy.

Later legend records other evasions: the Tanagraeans refused, according to Euphorion (ap. schol. B on B 498); Cinyras, king of Cyprus, according to Apollodorus (epit. 3. 13), promised fifty ships, sent one, and compounded with his conscience for the rest by a trick. In the purer version in Homer, Λ 20, he sent a suit of armour as a compliment when the news of the war reached Cyprus.¹ These proceedings are clearly inconsistent with absolute power, which gives a categorical order, the usual prerogative of a modern Crown. On the other hand, there is something about Agamemnon other than mere acreage and wealth. He is superior to the other princes: he says himself he is βασιλεύτερος, more royal, than Achilles (I 160), though Achilles is an Aeacid and child of a goddess; he implies the same thing of his brother (K 237 to Diomedes):

μηδὲ σύ γ' αἰδόμενος σῆσι φρεσὶ τὸν μὲν ἀρείω
 καλλείπειν, σὺ δὲ χείρον' ὀπάσσεαι αἰδοῖ εἰκων,
 ἐς γενεὴν ὀρόων, μηδ' εἰ βασιλεύτερός ἐστιν.

¹ Theopompus, probably to give Macedonia a place in the heroic age, tells how the ναυτολόγοι νῆες drew Methone in vain (p. 36).

And Achilles in his bitter rage cannot dispute the claim (I 392). The same epithet is given by Hesiod to Minos (fr. 103). What the specific quality consisted in we shall not know till we find out who Pelops was, but Lang (*World of Homer*, pp. 21 sqq.) seems right when he gives Agamemnon 'divine right but limited power'. Freeman called him 'Bretwalda', and see Mr. Chadwick, pp. 387 sqq. Nothing is further from the truth than to make him an emperor over a few vassals, bound by obligation of tribute and military service. So far as enjoining war is concerned, Agamemnon was in no better position than Adrastus of Argos when he sent delegations to obtain forces against Thebes (p. 66). According to Pausanias, vii. 24. 2, the Trojan war was not ordered from Agamemnon's private cabinet, it was decided at a meeting of princes at Aegium. Another place for the meeting was, according to some, the 'Ελληνιον at Sparta, Paus. iii. 12. 6.

I agree so far with Mr. Leaf that I think the line B 108

πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν

does refer to the extent of this sovereignty, and is equivalent to 'the Greek continent and islands'. The interpretation depends on the sense that we feel able to give to Ἀργος. Argos = Argolis did not belong to Agamemnon; his own kingdom, Mycenae-Corinth-Sicyon, contained no islands; even Sparta, if we add that in, contained nothing equivalent to 'many'. 'Many' must surely refer to the Aegean. So perhaps we get a clue to Ἀργος: if as a common noun it meant πεδῖον,¹ we may believe that in ordinary usage, like ἀναντος, ἀρέθουσα, λάρισα, τέμπη, perhaps ἐφύρα, it became proper; and starting from much the same meaning as ἡπειρος (which also became specific),² meant in this antithetical phrase continent, not island, from which usage it was not a very false inference of the Greek commentators that it meant Peloponnesus.

Accordingly, the personal kingdom of the Atridae extended from the isthmus to Taenarum; they held Corinth, the key of Greece, and Mycenae to guard their rear. Their authority ran, with whatever efficacy, from Dodona and Oloosson to Rhodes. Who thinks this invented, let him say in whose interest the invention was. Obviously not in that of Corinth; as little of Argos. It may have been agreeable to Sparta, but we do not find Sparta quoting the Catalogue as a title to Corinth, as the Athenians and Phocians used the Catalogue

¹ See p. 108.

² Cf. schol. Procop. bell. Vandal. i. 1. 12 Haury, ἡπειρος ὁ νῦν ἀδών.

for their purposes. Are we to suppose the derelict Mycenae capable of forgery? Or did it serve the sacred canton-cause, the *φῦλα τε καὶ φρῆτραι*? How many cantons were obliterated to make Agamemnon's kingdom?

10. Menelaus brought sixty ships from hollow Lacedaemon. Not much remains to be said about this section. *Σπάρτη* has been discovered by the British School on the left bank of the Eurotas, opposite the Dorian town (*B. S. A.* 1910, xvi). Amyclae, where the stoutest resistance to the Dorians was made (Paus. iii. 2. 6), has only been imperfectly excavated (*Ἐφ. ἀρχ.* 1889, Thompson, l. c., p. 131), but the discoveries at Vaphio point to an important city in the neighbourhood. No mention is made of the region to the east of the Eurotas, nor of Cythera (the body of the poem contributes two inhabitants of the island, K 258, O 430, Thyestes and Aegisthus had property here, δ 517), but that the whole of the Taygetan promontory belonged to Sparta, as in historical times, results from the mention of Oetylus (Vitylo) and Messe. For the topography see Forster, *B. S. A.* xiii. 219 sqq.

If Sparta stopped here, the dominion of the Atridae appears to have extended farther, and included at least a great part of the later Messenia. I 150, 292 Agamemnon is able to offer Achilles seven villages (Cardamyle, Enope, Hire, Pherae, Anthia, Aepia, and Pedasos), which have been identified (Strabo 359, 360, Paus. iii. 26, iv. 30, 31, 34. 5, 35. 1) with sites on the bay of Messenia and as far round the west coast as Modon (Methone = Pedasos). They are defined as

πᾶσαι δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλὸς νέαται Πύλον ἡμαθόεντος (I 295),

the meaning of which depends on the sense of *νέαται*.¹ The adjective is used of Thryon on the Alpheus, Λ 712,

τηλοῦ ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ νεάτη Πύλον ἡμαθόεντος,

where we know that Thryon was in Triphylia, on the south bank of the Alpheus, and *νεάτη* therefore means 'last in', equivalent in fact to Strabo's variant *πυμάτη*. If the same meaning holds in I 153, 295, *νέαται* must mean 'last in Pylos', and the third or Messenian Pylos, which there is no reason to suppose did not exist in the heroic age,² must have belonged to the Atridae. Between this and

¹ The uncertainty, increased by the obscurity of the sites known as Πύλος, accounts for the variant *κείαται*.

² 'A few Mycenaean sherds . . . have been found in the so-called grotto of Nestor, at the Messenian Pylos, and near the same site is a tomb belonging to an earlier period.' Thompson, l. c., p. 132.

Cyparisseis came the frontier of the Atridae and Nestor. Strabo (358) regards Messenia as belonging to Menelaus, after whose death the Nelidae took it. Various foundations in Messenia were attributed to Pelops (ib. 360). Orestes was conceived to have succeeded to the same empire with Argos added (Paus. ii. 18. 4).¹

11. The paragraphs on Mycenae and Sparta show an arrangement of well-known places in an unknown political combination. The account of Nestor's dominions calls a forgotten country from the limbo of history. We see how the country in question disappeared, and how Greek antiquarians misread evidence. All is clear beyond cavil, and the method and insight of two geographers are established, Strabo and Victor Bérard.

Pylos, Arene,² Thryon, the ford of the Alpheus, Aepy, Cyparisseis, Amphigenia, Pteleos, Helos, and Dorion belonged to Nestor and sent ninety ships. This was a large power, second in numbers in the Peloponnese, separated on the one hand from Elis, on the other from the domain of the Atridae, which as we have seen possessed at least seven villages in the later Messenia.

Some of Nestor's towns are mentioned elsewhere in the poems. Δ 711 sqq. in Nestor's account of his first feat of arms, the Epeans under the Actoriones were besieging

Θρυνόεσσα πόλις αἰπεία κολώνη
τηλοῦ ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ νεάτη Πύλου ἡμαθόεντος.

'Last in Pylos' it was Nestor's north frontier-town. The Pylian troops, horse and foot, leave Pylos and spend the night on the ποταμὸς Μιννῆιος near Arene. The next day Pylians and Epeans meet, and the latter are pursued even unto Buprasium, the rock Ὀλενίη, and the hill Alesion.

Nestor had assisted at another battle, this time with Arcadians, somewhat to the north of the Alpheus. H 133

ἡβῶμ' ὥς ὅτ' ἐπ' ὠκυρώ Κελάδοντι μάχοντο
ἀγρόμενοι Πύλιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἐγχεσίμωροι,
Φειῶς παρ' τείχεσιν, Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.

¹ The latest account of south Messenia is by Forster, *B. S. A.* x. 158 sqq. The Messenian version in Paus. iv. 3. 3 put the Nelidae there from the beginning, so to speak. As a coincidence I may mention that the north boundary of Coron and Modon was a stream which fell into the bay of Navarino opposite Sphacteria (Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, p. 59).

² Arene is separated from Pylos and given to Lynceus and Idas, Ap. Rh. i. 152.

It was represented on the shield of Cypselus, of which Pausanias has left a description (παρά τε Φειὰν [φινγάλειαν MSS.] πόλιν καὶ ποταμὸν μαχουμένους Ἰάρδανον, v. 18. 6), and which he dates by the inscriptions which remind him of Eumelus. It has seemed to many inquirers strange to find Arcadians fighting Pylians to the north of the Alpheus, and as a result we find the variants Φηρᾶς read by Didymus after Pherecydes, fr. 87, and Χάας in Strabo. I endeavoured, *J. H. S.* xxx. 298, to connect Didymus' reading with the Φηρή or Φεραί which belonged to the family Diocles-Ortilochus, E 542, H 9, 135, γ 488, in which case the town and the rivers Κελάδων and Ἰάρδανος would be transported to the upper waters of the Alpheus and the east of the historical Messenia.

Records exist of several journeys past this coast. In ο 297, on Telemachus' return journey from Pylos, his ship passes two new places, Κροννοί and Χαλκίς, then Φεαί and naturally Elis. In the hymn to Apollo, 422 sqq., the Cretans on their way to Delphi pass Arene, Argyphæa, Κροννοί, Χαλκίς, Pheæ, and Elis before their ship made for the νήσοισιν θοῇσιν, that is, the islands created by the deposit of the river Achelous or Thoas.¹ In the hymn to Hermes, of uncertain date, Hermes drives his oxen from Onchestus by an undefined route to the Alphean Pylos,

ἐς Πύλον ἡμαθόεντα ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ πόρον ἕξον (398);

he had previously thrown his *skis* into the river (139).

This is the last appearance of the Alphean Pylos in literature.² It was known that there had been three Πύλοι, for there existed a celebrated oracle which rested on the triple ambiguity

ἔστι Πύλος πρὸ Πύλοιο, Πύλος γε μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη

(Ar. *Knights* 1059, completed by the scholiast, and Strabo 339), but the fifth-century antiquaries (Pherecydes, fr. 56, Hellanicus, fr. 64) held that there were only two, and as the claims of Elis were out of the question, decided that the Messenian Pylos, or Navarino, was Nestor's capital.³ This disappearance of an ancient political unit

¹ Ἐκαλείτο δὲ Θόας ὁ Ἀχελῷος πρότερον, Strabo 450 (Θέστιος is the name in Plutarch, de Fluv. 22). This interpretation relieves us of the necessity of believing with the ancients (schol. ο 299, Strabo 351 θοὰς δ' εἶρηκε τὰς ὀφείας) that θοός can mean ὀφύς, a view which perhaps started with the glossographi and was accepted apparently by Antimachus, fr. 11 θοὸν δόμον.

² It is implied in the story of Melampus, Herod. ix. 34: he was hired ἐκ Πύλου, the guild descended from him was Elean and Alphean.

³ Similarly Hermes' route as cattle-driver was diverted by Antoninus Liberalis c. 24 to the Messenian Pylos, though Pausanias, iv. 36, admits the country was not good for cattle (and we may add there was no oversea market for the beasts).

was due in the first instance to the Dorian immigration, when the Nelidae quitted the place, and Triphylia counted as part of Elis or Arcadia (Diodorus xv. 77 includes Cyparissia and Coryphasium in Elis: Strabo 336 νῦν μὲν δὴ πᾶσαν Ἑλείαν ὀνομάζουσι τὴν μεταξὺ Ἀχαιῶν τε καὶ Μεσσηνίων παραλίαν: in Scylax 44 Arcadia comes down to the sea at Lepreum, and this is the only town mentioned near the coast), and in particular to the Spartan action at the end of the Messenian wars. They assisted their Elean allies against the Νέστορος ἀπόγονοι and the Arcadians who had helped the Messenians. Triphylia, the Pisatae, and the Caucones were obliterated, Pylos was synoecized with Lepreum (Strabo 355). The small towns ceased to exist as the result of a more recent event, the incursion of the Minyae, such of them as declined to share Thero's adventure. Of them Herodotus says (iv. 148) οἱ γὰρ πλεῖνες αὐτῶν ἐτράποντο ἐς τοὺς Παρωρέας καὶ Καύκωνας, τούτους δὲ ἐξελάσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐξ μούρας διεῖλον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἔκτισαν πόλιος τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι, Λέπρεον, Μάκιστον, Φρίξας, Πύργον, Ἐπιον, Νούδιον. The story is repeated by Strabo 347, but with curious chronological inaccuracy he uses these Μινύαι to explain Homer's Μιννῆιός ποταμός. These villages took the place of the Homeric sites. They recur, with several others, in Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 2. 21, Polybius iv. 77-80, Ptolemy iii. 14. 39.¹ As these movements of the Minyae preceded the foundation of Cyrene, they must have taken place in the seventh century. From this time the oblivion of Pylos dates; and further as the hymn to Hermes speaks of Pylos as by the Alpheus, the date of the hymn is so far put back.

The vulgar Greek opinion, therefore, was that the Homeric Pylos was the Messenian. We find it as early as Pindar (*Pyth.* vi. 34 Μεσσανίου δὲ γέροντος, sc. Νέστορος, schol. *Pyth.* v. 7), and Strabo supplies the motive of the states concerned: 339 βιάζονται ἔνιοι μνηστευόμενοι τὴν Νέστορος δόξαν καὶ τὴν εὐγένειαν. The upholders of Messenia identified Ἐρανα with Ἀρήνη (Strabo 348, 361); among them was Pisander the poet (schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 471). The logographers, Strabo's predecessors, and his successor Pausanias, fell a victim to their present: they assumed that the actual circumstances were the Homeric, and as there were but two Pyloses, the Elean and the Messenian, and the Elean was out of the question, gave Nestor

¹ The Τυμπανέαι of Polybius and Τυπάνεια of Ptolemy is perhaps Τύπαιον near Scillus, Paus., v. 6. 7.

to the Messenian.¹ It is Strabo's great merit to have read Homer independently, and having realized the Homeric conditions to have seen that they were incompatible with a Pylos in Elis or Messenia. His description of this charming country, consisting of *lidi*, *lagune* and *pineti*, woods full of flowers and endless shrines (*Ἀρτεμίσια*, *Ἀφροδίσια*, *Νύμφαια*, *Ἑρμεία*, *Ποσειδία*), begins at 343; his principles he expounds, 337 and 339, οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν Μεσσηνίον φασὶ τὸν Νέστορα, τῷ σωζομένῳ μέχρι εἰς αὐτοὺς προστιθέμενοι. οἱ δ' Ὀμηρικώτεροι, τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες, τοῦτον εἶναι φασὶ τὸν τοῦ Νέστορος Πύλον οὗ τὴν χώραν διέξεισιν ὁ Ἀλφειός· διέξεισι δὲ τὴν Πισάτιν καὶ τὴν Τριφυλίαν: and 348 οὐκ ἂν δ' ἐξητάζομεν ἴσως ἐπὶ τοσούτον τὰ παλαιά, ἀλλ' ἥρκει λέγειν ὡς ἔχει νῦν ἕκαστα, εἰ μὴ τις ἦν ἐκ παίδων ἡμῖν παραδεδομένη φήμη περὶ τούτων· ἄλλων δ' ἄλλα εἰπόντων ἀνάγκη διαιτᾶν. πιστεύονται δ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἐνδοξότατοί τε καὶ πρεσβύτατοι καὶ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν πρῶτοι· Ὀμήρου δ' εἰς ταῦτα ὑπερβεβλημένου πάντας ἀνάγκη συνεπισκοπεῖν καὶ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου λεχθέντα καὶ συγκρούειν πρὸς τὰ νῦν. His proof that there was a third Pylos, neither Messenian nor Elean, begins at 350. None of the names had survived, and he suggests identification of the Homeric sites. His views were held by his contemporary Didymus (schol. Pind. Pyth. vi. 35), and the source of schol. T on *Λ* 726 gives the position of the 'Arcadian' Pylos accurately. They did not, however, prevail, neither Elis nor Messenia would abdicate in favour of a dead claimant. Pausanias, v. 5. 3 sqq., describes Triphylia and, 6. 2, identifies Arene with Samicum,² but finds no Pylos: he argues for the Messenian (p. 75, note). Even in the nineteenth century the learned were divided, as any of the older books will show,³ and it was not till Victor Bérard in 1902 (*Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, i, pp. 61 sqq.) that the claims of Triphylia were convincingly set out.

¹ Paus. vi. 22. 6 (inclining to Elis) λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ ἔπος ἐς τὴν Πύλον ταύτην ἔχειν τῶν Ὀμήρου

γένος δ' ἦν ἐκ ποταμοῖο
'Αλφειοῦ ὅστ' εὐρὺν ῥέει Πυλίαν διὰ γαίης,

καὶ ἐμὲ ἔπειθον λέγοντες· βεῖ γὰρ δὴ διὰ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ὁ Ἀλφειός, ἐς δὲ ἄλλην Πύλον οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπενεγκεῖν τὸ ἔπος. Πυλίαν γὰρ τῶν ὑπὲρ νήσου τῆς Σφακτηρίας οὐ πέφυκεν ἀρχὴν διοδεύειν τὴν γῆν ὁ Ἀλφειός, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀρκάδων Πύλῳ ποτὲ ὀνομασθεῖσαν ἴσμεν πόλιν.

² Arene appears in the story of Idas and Marpessa (Simonides, fr. 216), Samos in that of Rhadine (Stesichorus, fr. 44): here, too, Strabo shows his superiority to Pausanias, who assumed the place was identical with the island. The name was not to be found in Strabo's peripli (347).

³ The tradition of a Triphylian Pylos remained in the district according to Pouqueville, vol. vi. 15.

Modern fancy had been taken captive by Thucydides' narrative, dear to schoolmasters, and by the action of Admiral Codrington, but Bérard had no difficulty in showing the entire unsuitability of Sphacteria and the adjoining country for the Homeric conditions. This demonstration was confirmed by Dörpfeld's excavations in 1907 (*Alth. Mitt.* 1907, 1908; cf. Dussaud, pp. 169 sqq.). Both buildings and works of art have been found in places which admit of identification with Pylos and Arene or Samicum, and display a well-founded Mycenaean culture 'together with crude wares analogous to those found at Olympia, Pisa, and Leukas' (Thompson, l. c., p. 132). The dynasty was Aeolid: Salmoneus had migrated from Iolcus.

Most of the towns mentioned are on the sea or, like *Θρύον*, at a short distance from it. Dorion is well up the valley, known as the *Αἰλὼν*: the sites of *Αἰπύ*,¹ *Ἔλος*, and *Πτελεός* (the later *Πτελάσιον*, according to Strabo) are unknown. It is remarkable that in a country which supported a population which could send ninety ships, there are no places mentioned towards the Arcadian border. Probably, like Elis, the whole country, as in Xenophon's time, was in villages. The Arcadian Catalogue does not claim any places in this direction, and Heraea, Aliphera, &c., may have been later *κατοικίαι* altogether. The eastern frontier would seem to have been practically the Alpheus. I have tried, *J. H. S.* xxx. 298, to locate the *Φηρή* on the Alpheus, where Diocles and Ortilochus lived (E 542, H 9, 135), and where Telemachus stayed a night on his way from Pylos to Sparta. Nestor's kingdom, second in the Peloponnesus, is thus recovered. Its oblivion is accounted for by changes in political history. That it could have been invented by any interested people or party is peculiarly improbable when Elis held the north part, the Messenians the south, and the Arcadians had claims upon the east frontier. In face of rival claims and historical forgetfulness the Catalogue preserved the second power of the Peloponneses as it once existed. But how many communes and cantons were immolated to furnish such a political unity?

12. Arcadia is in its historical position, and fills as many ships as Sparta. A large number of communes are quoted, all however towards the north-east corner of the later Arcadia. There are none west of Stymphalus or, except Parrhasia, south of Tegea. This agrees

¹ Perhaps the same as *τὸ πεδίον τὸ Αἰπιάσιον* near Lepreum, Strabo 348; perhaps the *Ἔπιον* of Herodotus.

with the probable extension of Triphylia to the Alpheus, and explains how Arcadia was a passage between the two sons of Atreus. Though Agapenor and the Arcadians are not mentioned again during the war—which suggests that they were merged in Agamemnon's forces, and possibly had begun their later mercenary habits—the king belongs to an excellent diotrophic family: his line is taken back by Apollodorus and Pausanias (following Eumelus and Hecataeus) to Aleos and Lycurgus. Ahcaeus was an Argonaut and fell before the Calydonian boar: at the end of the war Agapenor went to Cyprus. The landmark 'Aepytus' tomb', under Cyllene, takes us back to another member of the same house, Αἵπυτος Εἰλατίδας (Pindar, *Ol.* 6. 33): Pausanias (viii. 6. 3) describes the mound.

The sites are not all identified, any more than those in Triphylia. Strabo (388) could not find *Ῥίπην τε Στρατῆν τε καὶ ἡνεμόεσσαν Ἐνίσπην*. Pausanias (x. 25. 12) reports an opinion that they were islands in the Ladon! This, so far as it deserves attention, points to Arcadian nationalism.

The scholiast on E 785 says *τινὲς δὲ Ἀρκάδα φασὶν εἶναι τοῦ Στέντορα καὶ ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ πλάττουσι περὶ αὐτοῦ στίχους*. There is no clue to this attempt, which has left no mark upon the text. Some conscientious soul, Euripides or another, fattened this section of the Catalogue out of the body of the poem (where Stentor occurs in a simile), as Asteropaeus was given a place among the Paeonians from Φ 140.

Mycenaeae remains have been found at Tegea (Thompson, l. c., p. 132).

13. Elis occupies its historical position, north of the Alpheus. Six places are mentioned, Buprasion, Elis, Hyrmine, Myrsinus on the confine (*ἔσχατόωσα*), the rock of Olenus, and Alesion. Three of them, Buprasion, the rock of Olenus, and the hill of Alesion recur in Nestor's narrative of the Pylos-Elis war, Δ 756, 7. These are few towns for the extent of country, and it is not unnatural to suppose (with Hecataeus ap. Strab.) that Elis is not the general name, but belonged to the city. Strabo (340) offers his favourite explanation of a *σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος*. There is no more light to-day.

We find no Pylos, Dyme, or Patrae; Elis, the town, was a much later foundation (Strabo 336). As Mr. Thompson says (l. c., p. 132) 'Elis and the north-west corner of the Peloponnese are only scantily known to the author of the Catalogue . . . the early remains yet known in this district are few, but it is noticeable that they are not

Mycenaean at all. The prehistoric pottery from Olympia and Pisa connects generally with that found further north (*Att. Mitt.* xxxiii. 185 sqq., 320 sqq., xxxvi. 163 sqq.). One sherd in the Third Minoan style was found at Olympia.' In the body of the poems Cyllene the harbour is implied, as Strabo says, in Ὀτος Κυλλήνιος, O 518, 519. This comparative blank may explain the Cephallenian ἐπινομία (p. 91). The inhabitants here and throughout the poems bear the name Ἐπειοί, a name they share with the Dulichians. In Nestor's story in Δ they are called equally Ἐπειοί and Ἥλαιοι (unless we limit the latter word to Elis proper).

Forty ships are sent, ten under each of four leaders. The four leaders represent three families, and in so far resemble the Argives. Three of them, Amphimachus and Thalpius, cousins, sons respectively of Cteatus and Eurytus, and grandsons of Actor and Molione (from whom they are called Ἀκτορίωνε Μολίονε Δ 750, Μολίονες by Pindar, *Ol.* x. 20, cf. Mnaseas of Patara, schol. ib. 349), and Polyxenus son of Agasthenes son of Augeas, belong to the royal Elean family, whose history is told in Apollodorus and Pausanias. The fourth is the Elean Diomedes, Diores son of Amarynceus, whose father Pyttius had come to Elis from Thessaly (Paus. v. 1. 11). Amarynceus had been buried by the Ἐπειοί at Buprasion, Ψ 630; the story in Apollodorus, i. 74, on the authority of Hesiod, fr. 97, connects him with Olenus. Diores falls Δ 517.

The Elean forces are apportioned to these four heroes, ten ships to each. This is an advance upon the Argive system, and reminds us of the disposition of the Myrmidons, Π 168 sqq. These may be traces of the φῦλα τε καὶ φρήτραι.

Nestor took his horses to race at Elis, Δ 699, but the Catalogue takes no notice of the festival and its divine or heroic founders, Heracles and Pelops, such favourites with Pindar.

CHAPTER III

NORTH-WEST GREECE

14. FROM the 'Επειοί the poet passes to the Epean colony, Dulichium and the Echinae islands 'across the sea opposite Elis'.¹ These send forty ships under Meges son of Phyleus, who (Phyleus) 'migrated in anger with his father'. The allusion is explained in the antiquarian Apollodorus ii. 88 sqq.; when Heracles made his bargain with Augeas king of Elis, he took to witness Augeas' son Phyleus; and when Augeas sought to evade payment Phyleus gave evidence against him. Augeas expelled Heracles and Phyleus, and the latter *εἰς Δουλίχιον ἦλθε καὶ ἐκεί κατέκει*. Subsequently (ib. 139-41) Heracles collected a voluntary army (like Adrastus and Agamemnon) and invaded Elis: and he eventually killed Augeas and restored Phyleus *καὶ τούτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔδωκεν*. The same story is told by Diodorus, iv. 33. 4, and Pausanias, v. cc. 1 and 3, who makes Phyleus finally return to Dulichium and leave Elis to Agasthenes. Phyleus' son went to Troy with a contingent of Epeans equal to that of the mother country. He was a prince of some distinction; one of Helen's suitors (Apollodorus iv. 12. 9); at Troy he killed Pedaëus (E 69); defended the ships at the head of his Epeans (N 691); stayed the rout along with Ajax, Idomeneus, Teucer, and Meriones, O 302, avenged his friend Ὠτον Κυλλήγιον . . . *μεγαθύμων ἀρχὸν Ἑπειῶν*, ib. 518 sqq., when he owed his life to the cuirass

τόν ποτε Φυλεὺς

ἦγαγεν ἐξ Ἑφύρης, ποταμοῦ ἀπὸ Σελλήεντος

he was one of the commissioners to effect the payment of amends to Achilles (T 239). Here he appears for the last time in Homer. Dictys, iv. 10, has him wounded when Arcesilaus and Schedius fall,

¹ For the literature see Mr. Shewan, *J. H. S.* 1914. 227. M. Bérard also and Mr. Leaf are well supplied with references.

after the death of Sarpedon. In Homer Arcesilaus and Stichius (with whom Schedius is confused) fall O 329, before Patroclus joins the fray and of course before the death of Sarpedon. Meges, as we have seen, is in this fight (O 302, 520-38), but is not wounded according to Homer. But it was at this point that Homer departed from the saga-tradition, in which Sarpedon was not killed till after the reconciliation of Achilles. Homer may have saved Meges from this fray to let him appear as a commissioner; in the original story he may have died of his wounds, or have fallen during the subsequent operations, or have been drowned on his nostos (a fate given him by the epigrammatist of the Peplos, Aristotle fr. 596. 25 R., and Apollodorus, epit. 5. 15 a), or his loving people may have expelled him, as happened to Diomedes. Acastus is king of Dulichium in the *Odyssey* (§ 336).

This substantial and authenticated Epean hero has met with strange treatment at the hands of recent critics. Niese, p. 38, declared he occupied an 'auffallende Stellung'—not so much surprising as awkward for Niese's theory. Dörpfeld ignores him; M. Bérard forgot his existence and lumped all the islands, save Corfu, in the 'royaume d'Ulysse'; when Meges forced himself on his notice he declared him apocryphal in a foot-note (ii. 438 n.). Even M. Dussaud, surely by a slip of the pen, says the same thing (p. 174).¹ Mr. Leaf vents on him the ill-humour we keep for those who confound our politics. This reluctance to recognize a particular section of the Catalogue is due to the Homeric glamour; Ulysses is so important that he must have been the local potentate. Natural as this prepossession may be, it is wholly erroneous and betrays both faulty method and ignorance of Homer. One entry in the Catalogue is as good as another till the contrary is proved. Meges has as much right to his position as Ajax or Nestor. Further, personal eminence in Homer has nothing to do with population or size of contingent. Ulysses owes his eminence to his wits and to the patronage of Athena; Ajax to his muscles. The Atridae have the power, but not the prowess. We must not try to give Ulysses more than Homer gave him. Twelve ships and a precarious patrimony were ample for an adventurer.

Let us look at the facts about Dulichium. In the *Iliad* it does

¹ Far earlier Dodwell i. 109: 'It would appear that although Doulichion was governed by Meges, it formed part of the Laertian kingdom.'

not occur again. In the *Odyssey* it occurs in two connexions: (1) the lists of the suitors of Penelope:

α 245 ὅσσοι γὰρ νήσοισιν ἐπικρατέουσιν ἄριστοι,
 Δουλιχίῳ τε Σάμῃ τε καὶ ὑλήεντι Ζάκυνθῳ,
 ἥδ' ὅσσοι κραναὴν Ἰθάκην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν,
 τόσσοι μητέρ' ἐμὴν μνῶνται, τρέχουσι δὲ οἶκον.

The same β 50, 51 a b, π 122-5, 247 sqq., cl. 396, τ 130-3. A queen's suitors need not be limited to her husband's subjects: Helen's wooers were not all Spartans, nor was the Calydonian boar hunted exclusively by Calydonians. Atalanta and the daughters of Oenomaus and Clisthenes drew young men from all over Greece, and but for the distance and obscurity of Ithaca Penelope's band would have been larger, as indeed Eurymachus says, σ 246.

(2) The place occurs in the localization of Ithaca, obscure rock, which Ulysses gives to the Phaeacians:

ναιετάω δ' Ἰθάκην εὐδείελον, ἐν δ' ὄρος αὐτῇ
 Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον ἀριρεπέες· ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι
 πολλαὶ ναιετάουσιν μάλα σχεδὸν ἀλλήλῃσι,
 Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμῃ τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος.

ι 21-4. Must a man give the bearings of his island without mentioning foreign countries? When Locris is said to be opposite to Euboea, did either own the other?

There is nothing else in the whole of either poem to suggest that Dulichium belonged to Ulysses. The Dulichians were Epeans,¹ Ulysses' subjects Cephallenes.

Where Dulichium was is a longer question.

It was, as we have seen an island, 'round about' Ithaca, like Same and Zacynthos, and close to the others. We therefore cannot make it Acarnania or Corfù. The real form of its name was doubtless Δολίχιον:² the first syllable was lengthened according to the usual practice (e.g. δουλιχοδείρων, B 460, O 692). It is possible that the word means 'long', but there is nothing to show that it does, either here or in the other cases where it occurs (one of the Echinades Strabo 458, a village in Perrhaebia, Wace and Thompson, B. S. A. xvii. 193 sqq., the old name of Icaria Apollod. ii. 6. 3, a

¹ This, sufficiently obvious, was seen by Aristarchus, quoted by Epaphroditus ap. Steph. Byz. in Δουλίχιον. The name Ἐπειοί remained till the time of Hellanicus and Damastes, who (Val. Max. viii. 13, ext. 6) apply it to Aetolia.

² Δολίχιον actually occurs in the MS. 'A' of Apollodorus ii. 91, but it may be an accident.

name of Crete, Steph. in 'Αερία). Islands often bear significant names (Pityussae, Pharmacussae, &c.), but not so frequently in the heroic age as in the later period, and the Adriatic names Τάφος, Κέρκυρα, Ζάκυνθος, Πάξος, 'Ιθάκη, resist analysis as Greek. I do not suppose any one will maintain a connexion between Κεφαλλῆνες and κεφαλή. I suggested, therefore, previously that Δολίχιον was Illyrian or Liburnian,¹ and compared Δυρράχιον.

There was no Δολίχιον on the Greek map and there are no instances of the word in use. Callimachus in the Hecale (ap. Helladium in Phot. bibl. 531 a 19) made Aedon daughter τοῦ Δουλιχίως Πανδάρω, but the conjunction yields no result, for Pandareus is otherwise Milesian or Ephesian, and fled to Sicily. Callimachus cannot have made Dulichium = Sicily. The antiquarians had to find an island more or less opposite to Elis and close to the others. Ithaca and Zacynthus had kept their names; Cephallenia, which does not appear under this name in Homer, was left. Accordingly, Pherecydes (not in *F. H. G.*) made Dulichium Pale in Cephallenia (followed by Paus. vi. 15. 7),² Hellanicus, fr. 138, made it Cephallenia in general, Andron (*F. H. G.* ii. 360, fr. 6) part of Cephallenia.³ (All in Strabo 456.) Euripides, as we have seen, appears to make the people Taphians: *I. A.* 283:

λευκήρετμον δ' Ἄρη
Τάφιον ἦγεν ὦν Μέγης ἀνασσε
Φυλῶς λόχευμα
τὰς Ἐχίνας (ἐχίδνας MSS.) λιπὼν
νήσους ναυβάταις ἀπροσφόρους.

Strabo himself, having argued that Σάμος in Homer was Cephallenia, was unable to allow that Dulichium was either the whole or a part of Cephallenia, and misled by the name of one of the Echinades, Δολίχη, concluded that Dulichium was one of these islands (335, 340, 458). The moderns have followed him in choosing one or other of the smaller islands (Engel, however, accepts the western part of Cefalonia). Now the data are that Meges brought forty ships, the contingent of Phocis, Euboea, Elis, and Aetolia, and that his islands sent fifty-two suitors against twenty-four from Samos, twenty from

¹ As Strabo says of the pre-Corinthian inhabitants of Corfu (269): Timaeus, fr. 53, made them Colchians.

² The name Doulico occurs in Cefalonia, but in the north-east part of the island (see the map in Bérard ii. 418).

³ The scholia AT on N 824 also distinguish between Δουλιχιῶται and Σάμοι.

Zacynthus, and twelve from Ithaca. The island is called πολύπυρος ποιήεις. It has a coasting-trade with Thesprotia (§ 334, 335). No small island, no collection of small islands, suits these conditions.¹

The *lidi*, gradually connected with the mainland by the deposits of the Achelous, are the ancient Echinades; it is conceivable that the line may, as Strabo says, be a case of the ὅλον καὶ μέρος, and that one of the Echinades was called Dulichium; conceivable also that the Epean settlement may have possessed the watery land on the right bank of the Achelous, the later Acarnania. Mycenaean sherds have been found at Coronta in the valley of the Anapus (Thompson, p. 133). But if we are to pay regard to legend, this district was assigned to Alcmaeon (Thuc. ii. 102; Apollod. iii. 88; Ephorus ap. Strab. 462), and the Acarnanes themselves held that they were a constituted state under Alcmaeon during the Trojan war. There was no tradition of Oeniadae being a peraea of Dulichium. Moreover, if Dulichium lay off the Achelous, why does Ulysses use it to define Ithaca to strangers who do not know where it is? Zante, Cefalonia, and Sta. Maura form a real group, μάλα σχεδὸν ἀλλήγησι, but the hundred little rocks off Aetolia, though useful for navigation for natives, define nothing.

I therefore suggested (*J. H. S.*, l. c., 305), following Bunbury (*History of Ancient Geography*, 1883, i. 69, 70) and Vollgraff (*Neue Jahrbücher f. Philologie u. Pädagogik*, 1907, 617), and in agreement, as I now see, with Stürmer (*Berliner phil. Wochenschrift*, 1913, pp. 1660-2), that Dulichium was Sta. Maura or Leucas. The other large islands are bespoken: Zante all agree is Zacynthos; Thiaki is Ithaca, until the contrary is proved; Cefalonia is *prima facie* Samos or Same, since one of its principal towns is still Samos. Strabo himself well argues that we cannot cut islands in two, still less partition one island between two races, Epeans and Cephallenians.² The name Leucas was known to be late. The Corinthian settlers gave it to the island from its south cape Λευκάτας.³ The earlier name was forgotten, and in the interval of centuries, between the end of Ulysses' family and the Corinthian colonization in the eighth

¹ These considerations, which are obvious, were made by Edward Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, 1819, i. 108, 109.

² 456 οὐτ' οὖν Δουλίχιον ἢ Κεφαλληνία καθ' Ὅμηρον, οὔτε τῆς Κεφαλληνίας τὸ Δουλίχιον, ὥς Ἀνδρῶν φησί· τὸ μὲν γὰρ Ἐπειοὶ κατεΐχον, τὴν δὲ Κεφαλληνίαν ἕλην Κεφαλλῆνες, καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσεύϊ, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ Μίγῃτι.

³ Strabo 452. The Alcmaeonis, fr. 5, gave Leucas a heroic pedigree, introducing it into the family of Ulysses.

century (and history is silent upon this interval), that is not wonderful. Strabo, who rejected the older conjectures, held that Leucas had not always been an island: it was a chersonesus first pierced by the Corinthians (59, 451), and was alluded to by Homer as ἀκτὴ ἡπείροιο. He regarded it in fact as the Ithacan peraea. To it belonged Neritos, Crocylea, and Aegilips. Again (59), he says its name was Neritos, and so Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 5. Looking among the Homeric names, excluding islands, he found Neritos available for Leucas.

It seems probable that Leucas always had water between it and the land, in the historical period at least. The Leucadithakistae for their own reasons maintain this, with a show of science: *perrupit mare Leucada, Antirrium, Hellespontum, Bosporos duos* says Pliny, ii. 205, but no date in history can be assigned to these events. Leucas did not need the Corinthian dioryctus to make it an island. The lagoon would not bear ships before the canal was cut, but water of any depth constitutes an island, by definition¹ and in usage. Comacchio, though the lagoon is only inches deep, was an island only approachable in crazy flat-bottomed boats till the embankment was built from Ferrara.

Dörpfeld's excavations, on which he relies to prove the identity of Leucas and Ithaca, show in reality that Leucas will do for Dulichium. The abundant remains show that the island belonged to the north-west Greek culture, which we find from Pylos and Olympia as far as Cephallenia.² This agrees with the Epean settlement. Such an ample site requires a heroic name, and with Cephallenia, Ithaca, and Zacynthos taken, what remains on the required scale but Dulichium? A large, well-soiled, deep-valleyed island, together with its possessions on the mainland—for in its immediate proximity, with a very shallow lagoon and no doubt a causeway, it could not but settle and enjoy the ἡπειρος—suits the description of Meges' kingdom.³ The mainland, as may be seen in Dörpfeld's publications, shows ample Mycenaean traces (which he naturally attributes to Ithaca).

How far this territory extended we do not know. If, as

¹ Νῆσος· ἡ ἐν θαλάσσῃ πόλις Steph. Byz. The *pali*, or stakes, which marked the channels in the Leucadian lagoon are mentioned by Arrian, *Indica*, c. 41. 2.

² Thompson, p. 133.

³ Engel (*Der Wohnsitz des Odysseus, Ithaka oder Leukas*, von Eduard Engel, 1912), who himself takes Dulichium to be the western part of Cefalonia, found Leucas full of meadows, and saw more horses grazing than in Argos or Thessaly.

Mr. Shewan notices, it was continuous as far as the Echinades, Meges will have exercised a protectorate or ἐπινομία over much of Acarnania behind them. This kind of state suits one which raised forty ships and produced fifty-two princes. The addition of the mainland is a reason, if one were needed, why it is so much more populous than Cefalonia or Zante.¹

If the Dulichian section is supposititious, where was it conceived? in whose interest, *cui bono*? The extinct Dulichium cannot have exercised a posthumous activity. The Epeans also had ceased to have a public existence. The Ionian islands in the early historical period were under Corinthian influence, and no one will suppose that Eumelus and his school suffered an interpolation in the Catalogue in the interest of the predecessors of the Corinthians.

15. The Cephallenes under Ulysses, inhabiting Ithaca, Neritos, Crocylea, Aegilips, Zacynthos, Samos, and the continent and the antiperaea, send twelve ships.² This is the contingent of the single island of Salamis, and clearly suggests that the Cephallenian group, including such a large island as Zante and apparently Cefalonia, was thinly peopled. Forests and in Zante volcanic action may account for this.³ Dulichium sent forty ships and fifty-two suitors to besiege Penelope; the Cephallenes only twelve and fifty-six between them. It is possible, when we remember Ulysses' own reluctance, that Agamemnon's call was not heard by these islands. They lay on the verge of the Greek world, and were probably not Achæan by race. Dulichium was Epean. Even in the Persian war Cephallenia sent only 200 men to Plataea against 800 from Leucas and Anactorium (Herod. ix. 28). These considerations may assist the Rev. G. C. Richards' difficulty, *C. R.* 1917, 97.

The name Cephallenes is applied to the people of all the islands. They bear it also in the Ἐπιπώλησις, Δ 330; it is given to the towns

¹ Aristotle, ἐν Λευκαδίων πολιτείᾳ, ap. Strab. 321 (fr. 503 Rose), made Ἀέλει autochthon of Acarnania: his nephew Teleboas and his twenty-two sons were Teleboae, and some of them inhabited Leucas. He thus adopted this mysterious people, ignored by Homer but known to Hesiod, and whose name so nearly corresponds to the Lycian Telebehi (Arkwright, *J. H. S.* xxxv. 102 sqq.) into the heroic west-Greek world. Compare the west-Greek names Telemachus and Telegonus. The proto-peoples (Leleges, Pelasgi, &c.) are represented as existing at all parts of the later Greece.

² The number is constant: Ulysses left Troy with twelve (ι 159). At Troy they acted with the Athenians, as the Telamonian Ajax with his twelve attached himself to his Locrian namesake.

³ Cefalonia's highest mountain is still well covered with forest, mainly composed of a special Cefalonian variety of pine (Wace).

in the 'royaume' other than Ithaca, ω 355, and to the troops which Laertes led against Nericos, ω 378. Eumaeus, who was a native of Syra, says (ν 210) that Ulysses put him over his cattle, *Κεφαλλήνων ἐνὶ δῆμῳ*, i. e. in Ithaca. Tradition says nothing about their origin beyond supplying them with an eponym *Κέφαλος*. The dynasty is short and obscure. From Zeus to Telemachus it counted four generations: Arceisius, Laertes, Ulysses, Telemachus. It improved its position by alliances with continental families. Laertes married Anticleia, daughter of Autolycus, who lived 'under Parnassus', τ 394 sqq. (not far from Alalcomenae, according to Ister, fr. 52), Ulysses the Spartan Penelope, niece of Tyndareus. 'Αρκεΐσιος has a Greek sound, if it is the same as 'Αρκεσίλαος: *Λαέρτης* (*Λάρτιος* in tragedy: compare the Roman gens *Lartia*),¹ and Odysseus-Ulixes (see the various forms, Greek, Latin, and Etruscan, in Roscher, vol. iii. 1, pp. 645 sqq.) seem Italic, that is to say, native. The last generation, *Τηλέμαχος* and *Τηλέγονος*, must remind us of the *Τηλεβόαι*, whom the post-Homeric poets and antiquaries attributed to these parts (Hesiod, *Scut.* 19): Strabo 321 ὅτι δὲ πλάνητες [*οἱ Λέλεγες*] καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων [*Καρῶν*] καὶ χωρὶς καὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ αἱ 'Αριστοτέλους πολιτεῖαι δηλοῦσιν· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ 'Ακαρνάνων φησὶ τὸ μὲν ἔχειν αὐτῆς *Κουρήτας*, τὸ δὲ προσεσπέριον *Λέλεγας*, εἶτα *Τηλεβόας*. . . ἐν δὲ τῇ *Λευκαδίων* καὶ αὐτόχθονά τινα *Λέλεγας* ὀνομάζει, τούτου δὲ θυγατριδοῦν *Τηλεβόαν*, τοῦ δὲ παῖδας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι *Τηλεβόας*, ὧν τινὰς οἰκῆσαι τὴν *Λευκάδα*. The resemblance of the name to the Lycian *Telebehi*, Arkwright, *J. H. S.* 1915, pp. 100, 102, has already been mentioned (p. 88 n.).

The Zacynthians were a colony from the 'Achaean in Peloponnesus', Thuc. ii. 66; this from the wording refers to the later 'Achaea'. As Corinth settled Leucas and Corcyra, some other state on the Corinthian gulf colonized Zacynthus. Mycenaean remains are found in some quantity in Cefalonia and Ithaca (Thompson, p. 133): Cefalonia shows an earlier style of its own.

Ithaca and Zacynthos retained their names and were identified without question with the islands now called Thiaki and Zante. The ancients were exercised over the remainder. Strabo, 452 sqq., held that as one of the towns in Cephallenia was called Samos or Same (the actual Samos),² the word in Homer denoted the island

¹ The *Λαερτιάδαι* with other heroic families were worshipped at Tarentum, Aristotle, *Mir. Ausc.* 106. Cf. *Litorius* among the Epei in Damastes (Val. Max. viii. 7, ext. 6).

² Cf. schol. A on B 634 *φρούριον δὲ τῆς Κεφάλληνίας μέχρι νῦν Σάμος, ὅπερ*

later called Κεφαλληνία. This was the view of Apollodorus also (ib. 453), with an unimportant distinction. It admitted of conciliation (though Strabo thought otherwise) with the opinion of the older antiquarians (p. 85), who held that Dulichium was part of Cephallenia, and was probably held by them. It seems likely in itself, since (as was noted above, p. 86) it is violent to bisect an island, and to assign the parts to different races. The island must have been scantily peopled, as Zacynthos also. According to the list of suitors they had the same approximate population, twice that of Ithaca. We must suppose that the general name of the group (Κεφαλληνία) was appropriated to Samos when, on the extinction of the Λαερτιάδαι, Ithaca relapsed to its natural unimportance.

On other points there was much difference of opinion, owing to the obscurity of the description: οὐ γὰρ εὐκρινῶς ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ ποιητὴς οὔτε περὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας οὔτε περὶ τῆς Ἰθάκης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλησίον τόπων, ὥστε καὶ οἱ ἐξηγούμενοι διαφέρουσι καὶ οἱ ἱστοροῦντες, Strabo 453.¹ The three names Νήιος, Νήρικος, and Νήριτος produced much disturbance, aggravated by the variant readings which they engendered one on the other; cf. the vv. ll. α 186, ι 22, ω 377, and almost wherever the words occur in Strabo. Lupercus,² ap. Steph. in ν. Νήριτος, is found to write Νήριτον for Νήρικον, ω 377, in spite of Strabo's severe remarks, 454, the Periegete makes the opposite error, 495, Νηρικίης Ἰθάκης without variant. Homer clearly makes Νήριτος out to have been a mountain in Ithaca (especially γ 351, where there is no variant). The -τ- form is supported by Νήρητον, in Italy, *Neritanus* an Illyrian, *C. I. L.* iii. 3558 (Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 281); and Νήρικος is fixed to Leucas or the Leucadian peraea by Thuc. iii. 7. 5. The line is, therefore, another case of the ὅλον καὶ μέρος.

The other places also were thrown into Ithaca by Heracleo son of Glaucus,³ who made four divisions of the island: — [this has been lost], Νήιον, Κροκύλειον, Αἰγίλιψ. Later writers fix these places outside Ithaca. To Strabo 376 Crocylea was in Acarnania: Mela,

φασὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κάστρον. It became the seat of the Carpocratiani, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 2.

¹ His immediate sources on this section were as usual the writers on the Catalogue, Demetrius of Scepsis and Apollodorus, as appears from 466 fin.

² He was a native of Berytus and lived s. iii p. c.

³ Cf. Steph. Byz. in Κροκύλειον, similarly in ν. Δημος: . . . καὶ τόπον ἐν Ἰθάκῃ ὃς καὶ Κροκύλειον. Heracleo was earlier than Harpocraton.

ii. 7, 10, treats each name as meaning a separate island; in *Ionio Prote, Asteria, Cephallenia, Neritos, Same, Zacynthus, Dulichium*; et inter non ignobilis *Ulixis nomine Ithaca maxime illustris: in Epiro Echinades et olim Plotae nunc Strophades: contra Ambracicum sinum Leucada.*

Pliny (iv. 53) is longer, but to the same effect: *inter Leucadiam et Achaiam permultae, quarum Teleboides eademque Taphiae—ante Aetoliam Echinades—ante eas in alto Cephallenia, Zacynthus, utraque libera, Ithaca, Dulichium, Samos, Crocyle.*¹ *A Paxo Cephallenia quondam Melaena dicta XI milibus p. abest. circuitu patet XCIII. Same diruta a Romanis adhuc tamen oppida tria habet: inter hanc et Achaiam Zacynthus . . . ab ea Ithaca XV m. distat, in qua mons Neritus.* Pliny notices that Neritos is not separate from Ithaca, but he gives us Leucas and Dulichium, Cephallenia and Same, Ithaca and Crocyle. His reference to the campaign of Fulvius in 189² reads as though he meant by 'Same' the district east of that town: he and Mela seem to have copied their sources directly, and perhaps this was the part of his work which Pliny dictated in his bath.³

Same for Samos, which Zenodotus and Apollodorus preferred, is somewhat the more frequent form in the *Odyssey*, and found in Thucydides (Σαμαῖοι), Livy (Samaei), and Pliny. In B 634 Zenodotus must have read Σάμη ἀμφενέμοντο.

Dictys of Crete's Catalogue is Homeric, as we have noticed (p. 28). vi. 6 he says *cognoscit Penelopam ab triginta illustribus viris diversis ex locis in matrimonium postulari: hique erant ab Zacyntho, Echinadibus, Leucata, Ithaca.* Cephallenia is omitted. The Echinades, perhaps, include Dulichium; if they do not, Leucatas may be Dulichium. It can hardly mean Cephallenia.

Besides these parishes of Ithaca, or islands, the Cephallenes owned ἡπειρον ἣδ' ἀντιπέραια. Strabo, conceiving of Dulichium as one of the Echinades, and of Leucas as a promontory of the continent, naturally gave Acarnania as this peraea (453); but late-epic tradition saw in the peraea Elis. Telegonia arg. καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς θύσας Νύμφαισι εἰς Ἥλιν ἀποπλεῖ ἐπισκεψόμενος τὰ βουκόλια. Even

¹ This form recurs in Strabo 452 and in a few MSS.

² Livy xxxviii. 28, 29.

³ Mela does not name his sources here. Of Pliny's numerous authorities in book iv, the more germane of the names which the 'Index' gives are Artemidorus, Apollodorus, Ephorus, Hecataeus, Hellanicus. Probably Apollodorus was the immediate original both to Mela and to Pliny.

in Homer another Ithacensian Noemon, δ 634, has mares and mules in Elis:

νῆά μοι οἶχετ' ἄγων· ἐμὲ δὲ χρεὼ γίγνεται αὐτῆς
 Ἥλιδ' ἐς εὐρύχορον διαβήμεναι, ἔνθα μοι ἵπποι
 δώδεκα θήλειαι, ὑπὸ δ' ἡμίονοι ταλαεργοὶ
 ἄδμητες· τῶν κέν τιν' ἔλασσάμενος δαμασαίμην.

According to an Arcadian legend Ulysses kept his horses as far off as Pheneus (Paus. viii. 14).

The connexion between Cephallenia and Elis is shown in the story (Paus. vi. 15. 7) how the Παλεῖς erected a statue to an Elean at Olympia. The relation existed in the middle-age also, when the three islands again formed a state with possessions on the Continent. See Appendix, p. 173. Chandler (*Travels in Greece*, i. 283) remarks, 'we anchored soon after daybreak in the bay of Chiarenza, which is frequented by craft from Zante and the places adjacent, chiefly for passengers and provisions'; p. 299, 'they [the Zantiotes] import live stock daily from the Morea; and in tempestuous weather a temporary famine not rarely ensues.' Compare the peraea of Cyzicus (Plut. *Lucullus*, 2), where all the βοτὰ νομὴν εἶχεν.

Whatever uncertainty there may have been over the identification of Samos and Dulichium, no ancient was ever found to doubt that Ithaca was Ithaca. No ancient conceived that Ulysses' rocky home had supplanted a rich island once known as Ithaca, and by means impossible to conjecture appropriated its name and attached its own barren qualities to it. This extraordinary heresy was the birth of the early nineteenth century, and has been in our day revived by William Dörpfeld, a respected architect and excavator, less experienced perhaps in handling documents. His excavations on Sta. Maura induced him to think that Ithaca was the ancient Leucas—with much consequent disturbance to the identification of these islands. The literature on the subject is very large,¹ and I would not unnecessarily add to it. Bérard's arguments (ii. 405 sqq.) are a sufficient practical refutation of Dörpfeld's position. There are three different considerations to be noticed:

(1) The correspondence of the Homeric description of Ithaca with Thiaki and Sta. Maura respectively. Here I must lay down a principle which I propose to follow, viz. that while general truth must be demanded in an author's description of a place, a minute

¹ See Shewan, l.c., and his article 'Beati possidentes Ithakistae', *Classical Philology*, 1917, 132.

and detailed truth of small localities, and the correspondence of such details to any actual circumstances, can neither be exacted nor pressed. Thus I lay no stress on M. Bérard's charming identification of the places mentioned in the *Odyssey* with the actual hills, springs, and harbours of Ithaca.¹ Else I should have to believe with Champault that Phaeacia was Ischia, and Corfù also, if I read Bérard last. The method of agreement proves too much. Moreover, to follow Mr. Leaf for once, I make a distinction, momentarily, between the Catalogue and the body of the poem. In the Catalogue there is no description of the island, and no difficulties arise; the description is in the *Odyssey*, and—what is more—in the domestic part of the poem. The Ithacan part of the poem is obviously the work of Homer, that is to say the details inserted in it. The scale is too great, the movement in time too slow, for books i–iv and xiii–xxiv to be other than Homer's creation; moreover, it is in these parts that *ῆθος*, the characteristic of the *Odyssey* and of the poet as distinguished from the chronicler, occurs. I therefore put on one side the inner topography of Ithaca: I also neglect Telemachus' celebrated return and the ambush laid for him by the suitors.² Telemachus' journey is plainly Homer's invention. It is an *ἐπεισόδιον* in the construction of the poem; it diverts the reader, increases the suitors' *ἄτη*, and—what is more important—effects the purpose of books i–iv, which is to orientate the reader in the position of affairs in the heroic world at the outset of the poem—by allowing Nestor and Menelaus to narrate from their own experience and the miraculous knowledge of Proteus the events since Troy fell. If the journey was an invention, so the return, and therewith the ambush, the island, and the whole story. General knowledge of localities we must suppose to have been current. It would be special pleading to refuse it to Homer. Now the general description of Ithaca is notoriously suited to Thiaki: it is barren and hard, but bracing: Ulysses loves it with all its defects. Bowen's remarks in Smith, *Dictionary of Geography*, ii. 97, deserve quoting:³ 'its

¹ Nor on the details, taken from actual observation, of Engel, l. c., p. 24 sqq.

² But the channel between Cefalonia and Ithaca was a real resort of pirates: Nicetas Chon. 114. 15 καὶ κατὰ τινα νῆσον ἀναχθέντες ἀμφύρνον ἢ Ἀστερὶς αὐτῇ οἶμαι ἔστιν ἣν φασιν οἱ πάλα κείσθαι μέσον Ἰθάκης καὶ τῆς τῶν Κεφαλήνων τετραπόλεως, ἐπιτίθενται ὡς πολέμοι τοῖς ἐκείσε ἐξ Εὐβοίας παρορμῶσι Ῥωμαίκοις. See Finlay, iii. 170.

³ The same impression was made on Engel, l. c., p. 21 sqq. There are not twenty horses on Thiaki, nor three carriages at Vathy.

forests have disappeared ; and this is doubtless the reason why rain and dew are not so common here in the present as in Homer's age, and why the island no longer abounds in hogs fattened on acorns, like those guarded by Eumaeus. In all other points the poet's descriptions (δ 603 sqq., ν 242 sqq., ι 27 sqq.) exhibit a perfect picture of the island as it now appears, the general aspect being one of ruggedness and sterility, rendered striking by the bold and broken outline of the mountains and cliffs, indented by numerous harbours and creeks (λιμένες πανορμοι, ν 195). The climate is healthy (ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος, ν 27).¹ The severity of Ithaca is harped on throughout. Such a conception is clearly impossible of Leucas.

The statement of the appearance and position of Ithaca relatively to the other three islands, Dulichium, Same, and Zacynthus, is emphatic and requires an explanation : ι 22

ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι
πολλαὶ ναιετάουσι μάλα σχεδὸν ἀλλήλῃσι,
Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε καὶ ἑλῆεσσα Ζάκυνθος.
αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ παννπερτάτῃ εἶν ἀλὶ κείτῃ
πρὸς ζόφον, αἱ δὲ τ' ἄνευθε πρὸς ᾧ τ' ἡέλιόν τε.

The unprejudiced reader of these lines expects to find that Ithaca is a low island far out to sea, a lonely rock in one direction with the remaining islands in the other. These conditions do not apply to Thiaki nor to the Ithaca of history. It lies within the kind of ring formed by Sta. Maura to the north, Cefalonia to the west, Zacynthus to the south, and the mainland to the east. Whatever interpretation is put upon the terms πρὸς ζόφον and παννπερτάτῃ, they are untrue of Ithaca. Χθαμαλή (= ταπεινή) does appear to apply. I do not see what can be objected to Bérard's arguments, ii. 413. Ithaca is not a flat island, but it is relatively flat compared to Cefalonia and Sta. Maura when approached from the south. On the French map in Bérard (*carte marine*, no. 3210) the highest peak in the south of Ithaca (Monte Stefano) is given 650 metres, the highest point of the south-east range of Cefalonia (unnamed in the map) is given 1,590. The term is relative in other Homeric cases also : κ 196 Circe's island is χθαμαλή relatively to the σκοπή which Ulysses climbed to look down upon it ; μ 101 τὸν δ' ἕτερον σκόπελον χθαμαλώτερον ὄψει, no σκοπελός is χθαμαλός as such, it is more or less so by comparison. This was the usual ancient view : schol. ι 25 ἡ σύγκρισις ἡ πρὸς τὰς

¹ Cf. Dussaud, p. 174.

ἄλλας νήσους ποιεῖ αὐτὴν λέγεσθαι χθαμαλήν, αὐτὴ δὲ καθ' αὐτὴν μὴ ἀνεξεταζομένη πρὸς Σάμον καὶ Ζάκυνθον ὑψηλὴ ἐστίν. Dionysius, Calliphontis f. (*Geog. graec. min.* vol. i) 51 says

Ἰθάκη στενὴ
ὑψος δ' ἔχουσα καὶ λιμένας τρεῖς.

It agrees with nature : Engel, *Wohnsitz des Odysseus*, 1912, p. 17, 'von der Westküste des Peloponnesos, zumal aus der Nähe von Pyrgos und Olympia gesehen, erscheint das doppelgipflige Ithaka, obgleich seine zwei Hauptberge bis zu 600 und 800 Metern aufsteigen, dennoch wie erdrückt, verschwindend niedrig neben den gewaltig aufragenden Bergen von Kefallenia (bis 1620 m.).'

In order, therefore, to apply this line to Leucas, Dörpfeld has recourse to an interpretation of χθαμαλός mentioned by Strabo 454 with some approval: ἔχει μὲν οὖν ἀπεμφάσεις τοιαύτας ἢ φράσις, ἐξηγούνται δὲ οὐ κακῶς· οὔτε γὰρ χθαμαλήν δέχονται ταπεινὴν ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλὰ πρόσχωρον τῇ ἡπείρῳ, ἐγγυτάτω οὖσαν αὐτῇς.

The line in fact contained an apparent contradiction, χθαμαλὴ παννυπερτάτῃ, 'low, very high': accordingly attempts were made to gloss both words. The scholiast preserves some: πῶς οὖν παννυπερτάτῃ; ἢ τῇ δόξῃ; . . . παννυπερτάτῃ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκούντων λαμπρότητα. Or the island was high on one side and low on the other. Strabo has preserved an attempt of some commentator on χθαμαλή, based probably on a connexion with χθών. It is out of the question; the meaning and usage of χάμαι and χθαμαλός are ascertained. It is also palpably untrue of Ithaca. It would be true of Leucas, did the word mean πρόσχωρος, and had the exegete applied to Leucas. But it means ταπεινή, and it never entered the head of an ancient, commentator or other, to conceive that Ithaca was other than the modern island Thiaki.

Aristotle's Ἰθακησιῶν πολιτεία may have collected patriotic fables, such as a denial of the insignificance of the island. The starting-point of these inventions was the misunderstanding of ὑπερτάτῃ.

The placing of the island is more to the point: Ithaca, says Homer, lies

πρὸς ζόφον, αἱ δὲ τ' ἀνευθε πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἡελίον τε.

After a discussion Strabo 455 and Bérard ii. 261 sqq., 413 interpret ζόφος as meaning ἄρκτος or north-west. Here the sun sets in our latitudes in summer; in winter it rises south of east. Ithaca, therefore, is 'out to sea, to the north-west; the rest are to the east and south-east'. This is quite untrue of Thiaki: 'the others' are north,

west, and south, and Ithaca is south of Leucas, east of Cefalonia, north of Zante. On the other hand these points are equally false as applied to Leucas. Leucas is north, not north-west, of all three others; none of them is east or south-east of Leucas. Hence the data do not suit the real or the mock-Ithaca. We are reduced to supposing an error in Homer. Homer thought Ithaca was on the further side of Cefalonia, west of it, and further out to sea. For this is the meaning of *παννπερτάτη*, and not 'highest', 'most northerly', or 'above' anything. In land matters *ὑπέρ* is the equivalent of *ἄνω*, and means 'up-country'; in sea matters *ὑπέρτατος* is the superlative of a nautical expression meaning 'off', 'au large de'. Compare

ξ 300 μέσσον ὑπὲρ Κρήτης

of a ship going from Egypt to Libya, south of Crete the whole way.

γ 170 ἧ καθύπερθε Χίοιο νεοίμεθα παιπαλοέσσης
νῆσου ἐπὶ Ψυρίης, αὐτὴν ἐπ' ἀριστέρ' ἔχοντες,
ἧ ὑπένερθε Χίοιο παρ' ἡνεμόεντα Μίμαντα;

should they go away to sea from Chios in the direction of Psyria, or should they take the channel 'beneath' Chios along Mimas, i. e. between Chios and the land? ¹

ο 403 νῆσός τις Συρίη κυκλήσκειται εἴ που ἀκούεις
Ὀρτυγίης καθύπερθεν.

If Συρίη is Syra and Ὀρτυγίη Rheneia,² then Syra is due west of Rheneia. Cf. *ὑπὲρ Γεραιστοῦ* of the Cyclades Dionysius 131.

Accordingly, *παννπερτάτη*—to which to make doubly sure *εἰν ἀλί* is added—can only mean furthest out to sea. It meant much the same as Stephanus' description of Ireland: 'Ιέρνη νῆσος ἐν τῷ πέρατι πρὸς δυσμαῖς, Scymnus' *πελαγία* of Achilles' island (790), which is off the mouth of the Danube, and Dionysius' *πελαγιωτάτη* of Crete (113). This is erroneous of Ithaca, but palpably absurd of Leucas, which most people denied was an island at all.

Homer's inaccuracy is very like Strabo's own inaccuracy when he says (167) the Pityussae are *πελαγαίαι μᾶλλον καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν* than the Gymnesiae. In his case we know that his error was a consequence of his method of compilation, δι' ὑπομνημάτων; and possibly, *mutatis mutandis* this, together with a desire to increase the contrast between the great hero and his mean rock added to Ionian ignorance of these parts, was the reason of Homer's inaccuracy also.

¹ See Leaf on Ω 544.

² Strabo 437.

The reality of Homer's names in this part of Greece appears from many sides. 'Ιθάκη as a name resembles other north Greek formations, Βαϊάκη, Μαλθάκη, Φαιακία (Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 280 sqq.). Mentès, the Taphian (a 179 sqq.), who sails to Temesa to exchange iron for copper is substantiated by the Μέντορες' ἔθνος πρὸς τοῖς Λιβυρνοῖς 'Εκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ (fr. 62), Steph. in v., Apoll. Rhod. iv. 551, Aristotle, *Mir. Ausc.* 111, Pliny iii. 139, Scylax 21 (the Μεντορίδες islands), the Μέντορες Scymnus 394, Μ]εντις inscr. at Corfù, *The Year's Work*, 1914, 3. Echetus (σ 84), a barbarian name, is claimed as Epirote by Lysippus Epirota ἐν ἀσεβῶν καταλόγῳ, schol. Ap. Rhod. iv. 1093; his father was Βούχετος (Mnaseas, fr. 25, and Marsyas, fr. 10, ap. schol. σ 85) of Βουχέτιον in Epirus. The name Τάφος remained apparently in the island Taphiusa *dextra navigantibus ex Ithaca Leucadem*, Pliny xxxvi. 151.

(2) If Leucas, a large island, in close relation with the mainland, is to be the beggarly Ithaca, what is to become of Dulichium? Dulichium sent forty ships and fifty-two suitors. As we saw it is unlikely that it was half Cephallenia. Islands are not bisected, especially between different races (Epeans and Cephallenians), and why were the two halves so different? The west half (Dulichium) produced fifty-two suitors and forty ships against the twenty-four suitors and share in twelve ships of the east (Cephallenia). The view was no better than a desperate resort of the antiquarians, who regarded Leucas as a chersonesus. We require for Dulichium an ample population, and this is only given by Leucas and its peraea. It is not available for Ithaca. There is indeed one way out of the difficulty, which has appealed to MM. Bérard, Dörpfeld, and Leaf alike, to disregard the entry in the Catalogue altogether.

(3) It requires to be asked if such a 'move on' as is involved in the theory that Sta. Maura was once Ithaca and then became Leucas, and Thiaki was once Same and then became Ithaca, and Cefalonia was once Dulichium and then became, perhaps, first Same and then Cephallenia, or Cephallenia at once; and Same having been Thiaki and then, perhaps, Cefalonia, and Dulichium having been Cefalonia, both fly off the map—if such a thing is possible. The question did not disturb Dörpfeld, but Mr. Leaf is awake to it and brings some support. Place-names wander, like flowers in the winter; the Lombards are found at different times in different places, Calabria, as Mr. Bury remarks (*Quarterly Review*, July 1916, p. 15), at one time applied to a greater part of Italy than it does now; in early Greece

we can trace the course of such names as Perrhaebi, Aenianes, Pieres, Phlegyae, Magnetes. But Dörpfeld's idea involves a progressive passage of names along four places; the last place (and name) remains firm: the other three admit a new element, move one place on, and discard one of the old names. So

	<i>Heroic age.</i>	<i>Historical age.</i>
<i>Sta. Maura</i> =	Ithaca	Leucas
<i>Thiaki</i> =	Same	→ Ithaca
<i>Cefalonia</i> =	Dulichium	→ Cephallenia
<i>Zante</i>	Zacynthus	Zacynthus

Dulichium vanishes at the first push, Same vanishes as the name of a country, remains as a town. Such a movement is certainly unique in history and is incredible, especially when we remember that the 'push' which set it going is purely imaginary, and that the places are in sight of each other. Incoming races seize the name, history, and glories of the conquered, they do not pack the conquered off with its name and its heroic glories to a site a few miles across the water. The Liburnian population of these places with its late-Mycenaean civilization sat on their sites from the death of Ulysses (after which the Telegonia seems to imagine a dispersal of the family) till the Corinthian settlement. Mr. Leaf's parallels are so many more demands on our credulity: it is news that the Navarino-Pylos owed its name to a southward 'thrust' from the Kakovatos-Pylos. Did the Kakovatos-Pylos originate in a southward thrust from the Elean Pylos? ¹ What of the Boeotian and the Arcadian Orchomenus? did either propagate the other, and which? are the four Ephyræ connected by the moving carpet of migration? and the five Methonæ? Moreover, the Pyloses and the Oechalias left their name behind them, they did not pack it in their baggage.

Mr. Leaf has done little in this section but repeat Dörpfeld, whose excuses he, a philologist, cannot plead. His Pilot has again run him on the bar of over-proof. Ithaca is certainly some way from Acarnania and Elis, but that is no reason why it should not have enjoyed the services of *πορθμῆες* and imported cattle (Leaf, p. 153). There is nothing in the word to imply the use of punts and barges. The Leucadian lagoon, of 2 feet, I have excellent authority for saying

¹ The Greek view was that the name came across the Peloponnesus from Megara: Apollod. iii. 205 Pylas king of Megara slew a man and founded Pylos in the Peloponnesus: the sovereignty came (back?) from Iolcus, λ 235 sqq.

could support a large traffic in flat-bottomed boats; and this was how the Dulichians, if they did not build a causeway also, reaped the produce of their peraea—though their own fields, according to Engel, could support them.¹ But the historical Ithaca, whatever the risks of the deep sea, had πορθμῆες, for Heraclides Ponticus, c. 38, tells us that one of them took over a crew of pirates, one aged slave, and some tar, a dead weight clearly as great as one cow and two fat goats (v 186).² Ulysses kept oxen, sheep, swine, and goats, ἐν ἡπείρῳ, ξ 100-4. No difficulty is felt in conveying sheep at least by ship. The Messenians stole 300 from Ithaca, φ 18. Moreover ἀλιεῖς, who are the same people, had the melancholy duty (ω 418) of conveying the bodies of the suitors to their relations, and this, whichever island we assign as Ithaca, implies a considerable voyage. But argument is unnecessary when, as Mr. Shewan informs us (*C. R.* 1916, 82), the actual Thiaki imports on the average 4,500 head of cattle every year (Engel, l. c., p. 29).³

Lastly, *cui bono*? If Thiaki-Ithaca were not really Ithaca, how did it get that position? Could an unimportant rock, which in the classical period had no history except its heroic past, have appropriated Ulysses and Penelope? and was a flourishing Corinthian colony, such as Leucas, to abdicate its rightful heroic past in favour of an unimportant rock?

16. This part of the world is rounded off with the section on Aetolia. Thoas, son of Andraemon, brought forty ships from Pleuron, Olenos,

¹ l. c., p. 70. 'I den statistischen Angaben über Lewkas finde ich, dass von den ungefähr 100 Quadratkilometern Anbaulandes mehr als 20 Quadratkilometer Weideland sind. Auf Ithaka ist es noch nicht 1/4 Quadratkilometer. Ausser der reich bebauten lewkadischen Ebene von Nidri habe ich die prangende Ebene im Norden der Insel durchwandert, und auf den Karten finde ich auch im Westen noch grosse Ebenen verzeichnet. Warum in aller Welt sollte der Beherrscher einer solchen Insel, die für die grössten Herden Weideland in Hülle und Fülle bietet, sich die Unbequemlichkeit auferlegen, einen Teil seines Viehstandes auf dem Festlande weiden und je nach Bedarf herüberholen zu lassen?'

² *F. H. G.* ii. 223 πορθμῆς Πυρρίας ὄνομα ληστὰς διεπόρθμευσε, πρεσβύτην αἰχμάλωτον καὶ πίτταν· καὶ ἀνείται ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ληστῶν δεηθέντος τοῦ πρεσβύτου. The same story in Plutarch, *Qu. graec.* 34. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* v. 1. 23 πορθμεία ἀνθρώπων μεσά, καταπλέοντα ἀπὸ νήσων.

³ 'Hätte sich Dörfeld genügend lange in Ithaka aufgehalten, oder hätte er sich nur an Ort und Stelle nach den noch heute dort herrschenden Verkehrseinrichtungen der Viehzüchter erkundigt, so hätte er die überraschende und überzeugende Tatsache erfahren, dass bis zu diesem Tage ein grosser Teil, über 4500 Haupt, des ithakesischen Viehstandes nicht auf der Insel selbst, sondern auf dem Festlande weidet, und in regelmässigem Föhrentrieb nach Ithaka hinübergeschafft wird?' For commerce between Zante and Glarenza see Chandler, *ante*, p. 92. Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, p. 151, quotes a document (*Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, Abt. II. xiv. 215) concerning animals imported to Cefalonia from Apulia,

Pylene, Chalcis, and Calydon. Andraemon was the son-in-law of Oeneus, having married his daughter Gorge (Apoll. i. 64); and, his son Meleager being dead, as Homer says, and Tydeus in exile, had succeeded to the throne. Diomedes takes his pedigree one step further back, Ξ 115.

The towns are all in the west part of the historical Aetolia; there are no Locri Ozolae, and a very large stretch of territory east of Chalcis is unaccounted for. Crisa, of course, belongs to Phocis (B 520). But in Pausanias' day (x. 38. 5) the tomb of Andraemon and Gorge was shown at Amphissa. The neighbouring tribe, the *Κουρήτες*, and their war with the Aetolians for Calydon are mentioned I 529 sqq. Strabo collects the opinions upon this all too suggestive name 463 sqq.

Mycenaean sherds have been found at Calydon, and L. M. ii and Minyan pottery at Thermon (see Thompson, l. c., p. 133; Rhomaïos, *Δελτίον Ἀρχ.* 1915, 256 sqq.).

CHAPTER IV

THE AEGEAN

A FORMAL account of the Aegean islands is given by Diodorus v. 47 sqq. He cites for Rhodes (c. 56. 7) Ζήνων ὁ τὰ περὶ ταύτης συνταξάμενος (*F. H. G.* iii. 174, also quoted by Polybius xvi. 14, mentioned by Diog. Laert. vii. 33), for Crete (c. 80) Epimenides, Dosiades, Sosicrates, Laosthenidas. Strabo deals with the Sporades 488, 489. Pliny, book iv, is very short; he quotes for Crete Dosiades, Anaximander, Philistides, Crates. The Cretan legends are given in Apollodorus iii. 1-20 (he quotes Pherecydes and Asclepiades).

17. The poet without further notice passes from Aetolia to the southern Aegean. If Thessaly comes last in the Catalogue as the last conquest (according to Mr. Thompson, *l. c.*, 39), the Aegean may come last but one (except Crete) for a like reason.

Crete sends eighty ships under Idomeneus and Meriones, from seven towns. She boasts a hundred cities (ninety, τ 174: an explanation of the discrepancy is given by Strabo 474 fin.). The genealogy of Idomeneus is given twice, by himself N 450 and by the mock-Cretan (Ulysses) τ 178. He is the son of Deucalion son of Minos. His squire (δπάων) Meriones, according to the later writers (Apoll. iii. 77, Diodor. v. 79), was a member of the same house. Minos is to Homer an individual, not a dynastic name, and there is no echo of an 'Achaean' conquest or of any convulsion. Nor is anything said about an alliance between the Cretan and Mycenaean houses, though Aeschylus (*Ag.* 1568) calls the Mycenaean dynasty Πλεισθενίδαι and Apollodorus iii. 15 and Dictys i. 1, v. 16 make Plisthenes, brother of Atreus and father of Agamemnon and Menelaus, marry Aerope a Cretan princess. The genealogy B 104 does not mention Plisthenes: neither does it necessarily exclude him.

The poems contain various recollections of bygone Cretan history: Ariadne, her χορός, and Theseus Σ 591, 592, λ 321; the Cretan prince Rhadamanthys, whom the Phaeacians conveyed to Euboea η 321-6. He enjoyed the immortality promised to Menelaus δ 564. Later writers made him die in exile at Ocaleae in Boeotia and found his tomb at Haliartus (Plutarch, *Lysander* 28; Apoll. i. 6, ii. 70). On the island in general see Strabo 474 and his authorities.

Three islands or groups of islands follow, between Crete and Asia, corresponding to the Sporades of historical times. The mention of these used to be considered one of the surest proofs of a Dorian source of the Catalogue. Our greater knowledge of the Aegean has removed this suspicion.

18. Rhodes is in the generation of its settlement, and little populated, although already rich (v. 670), if its contingent is only nine ships. These are brought by the oecist in person, Tlepolemus, son of Heracles. He falls in battle at the hands of his Lycian neighbour Sarpedon. (His widow Polyxo reigned after him with her orphan son, Paus. iii. 12. 10.)

The statement that the colonization of Rhodes took place in the Mycenaean period is confirmed by the late Mycenaean pottery found so plentifully on the island (Dussaud, pp. 202 sqq.). The ancient historians, Diodorus iv. 58¹ and Strabo 573, 653, recognize the Homeric account, and there is nothing in Pindar's sketch of the island (*Ol.* vii) to contradict it. It is prejudice, and a certain blindness, that induces modern historians to start the Hellenic existence of Rhodes with the Dorians. Strabo argues against the view 653. I do not know who Heracles was, but if in the course of his earthly career he made war on Augeas, on Laomedon, and founded Cos on his way back from the first Trojan war, it is plain that neither he nor any 'son' of his connote the Dorian race or period. The Heraclidae who 'returned' were his distant descendants: Aletes the founder of Corinth was fifth from him, schol. Pind. *Ol.* xi. 17 a. Accordingly the word in usage may imply 'heroic' or 'Dorian' according to generation. Even if the pottery were not there, the story in the *Iliad* is not what the powerful state of Rhodes would have invented as a heroic past. The few ships and the death of the oecist appear to represent fact.

The long excursus on the history of Tlepolemus, and the statement of the wealth of the settlement suggest an addition; but the limited nature of the addition is plain, if we compare the section with the abundant antiquarianism of Pindar, *Ol.* vii.

The motive for the settlement is as so often blood-guilt. This, or the like reason, accounted for the movements of Meges, Tydeus, Amphitryon, Phoenix, Patroclus, Bellerophon, Hyettus (Hesiod, fr. 144). Homer does not mention the place where Tlepolemus killed

¹ Diodorus v. 57-9 even asserts various much earlier settlements, from Thessaly and Crete, and winds up by saying *βραχὺ δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν Τληπόλεμος ὁ Ἡρακλέους κτλ.*

his uncle. Pindar, who gives the same story, puts it at Tiryns. Licymnius' tomb was shown at Argos (Paus. ii. 22. 8). The story is also reported in Apollod. ii. 170.

19. Syme close to the Carian coast is independent, under Nireus. Neither Homer nor tradition tell us whence it was colonized. Its nearness to the mainland accounts for the extension of Nireus' kingdom to part of Cnidia given him by Diodorus v. 53, who adds that the island lay long desolate between the Trojan war and the Doric colonization.

20. Nisyros, Crapathus, Casos, Cos, and the Calydnæ send thirty ships under Phidippus and Antiphus, sons of Thessalus, sons of Heracles.

There is more history in this section. The islands are in the third generation of their settlement, and consequently provide the large number of thirty ships. The body of the poem agrees in the foundation-story: Heracles was carried by winds to Cos after the first Trojan war (Ξ 250, O 26, cl. E 638). Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 40, and Diod. v. 54 agree. The fact that the group is cut in two by Rhodes suggests that Rhodes was settled later—or held out longer. This again agrees with the Catalogue. In the case of Carpathus Diodorus, l. c., provides a later oecist, Ioclus the Argive (*ὑστερον πολλαῖς γενεαῖς*): he would still agree with the Argive founding of Rhodes by Tlepolemus: it is a common error to see 'Dorians' implied by 'Heracles' and 'Argos'. Cos belonged to Eurypylus before the settlement (Apollod. ii. 7. 2). The ignorance of the later Greeks is shown by the variant in many mediaeval MSS. *θάσον* for *κάσον*. Eustathius identified Casos with Sinope!¹

Homer does not give the inhabitants a name, but tradition (Pindar, l. c., Thuc. viii. 41) calls them *Μέροπες*, an Asiatic name (B 831, A 329). The Heracles legend occurs further in Pindar, fr. 172, and ap. Strab. vii. fr. 58, Pherecydes, fr. 35. The first Aegean colonization appears as the result of the first Trojan war. The second Trojan war preceded the Ionic migration. May we also infer that the first war against Troy was conducted from Thebes (Heracles) and Aegina (Telamon)?

A survey of Carpathus is given by Dawkins, *B. S. A.* 1902-3, ix. 176 sqq.

This is a singular group of islands to represent the whole Aegean contingent. They start under the wing of Crete as it were, and

¹ Temesa was Brindisi, Cinnamus 159. 9; Sicyon was Demetrias, Nicephorus Gregoras 116. 20.

make a bridge to Lycia or the south of Caria : Casos-Carpathos-Rhodes. They then turn north-west and creep up the Carian coast—Syme, Nisyros, Cos, Calydnæ, and there stop. No one wishing to send the Aegean islanders to the Trojan Crusade would have chosen this bunch, and left out the Cyclades, or the great islands opposite Ionia and Aeolis. If we find these and no others in the Catalogue, the reason must be that these and no more were at the time in Mycenaean possession. And why the islands stopped at Calymnos is plain : at this point began the influence of Carian Miletus. Until Miletus was taken colonization could not go further north. The bridge of islands was made partly owing to the protection of Crete, partly because here the influence of Troy was furthest off. *A fortiori* Samos was foreign, and Telephus at Teuthrania and the Trojans further north commanded Lesbos. This Asiatic character, of the coast and islands, corresponds with the absence of Aegean remains : Mr. Hogarth, writing in 1909, said (*Ionia and the East*, p. 46) ‘this negative result of my deep excavation of the Artemisium . . . tallies with the almost equally negative result, as regards earlier Aegean things, which has thus far followed on all exploration whatever in Hellenic Asia, both mainland and isles, except only at Hissarlik. For all the rest of the coast . . . we have nothing at all that is Aegean to record, except vases or sherds of the very latest Age of Bronze or earliest of Iron, found at three points only on the mainland, viz. Pergamum, Miletus, and Assarlik, and at one point in Rhodes . . . The other great islands near the Ionian coast, Samos, Chios, and Mitylene, have yet to produce a single well-attested Aegean object’. Since this was written Mycenaean discoveries have been made in Rhodes (Dussaud, p. 203) ; vases from Calymnos have long been in the British Museum, and we may fairly suppose that with deeper excavation more evidence will be found in the other Sporades. Mr. Dawkins mentions Mycenaean vases and a bronze sword at Carpathos (l. c., p. 201). The entry in the Catalogue appears to accurately represent the extent to which Mycenaean influence had spread across the Aegean at the moment of the outbreak of the Trojan war. Homer admits no contact with the mainland, no peraea or ἐπινομία ; but the discoveries at Assarlik and Miletus (Dussaud, p. 203), to say nothing of the still unexcavated site at Datcha, conspire with the traditional date of the foundation of Halicarnassus¹ to show that the first result of the fall of Troy

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 55 (in A. D. 26) ‘Halicarnasii mille et ducentos per annos nullo motu terrae nutavisse sedes suas . . . adseveraverant’.

was the settlement of the mainland immediately opposite Cos and the Calyndnae.

The question frequently asked what were the Cyclades and the rest of the islands doing during the war, though far from entirely clear does not appear so dark as it once did. These islands are not ignored in the poems; Ulysses called at Delos ζ 162;¹ Dia, interpreted as Naxos, occurs in the story of Ariadne λ 325; Chios is a landmark (γ 170, 172); Lesbos was hostile, belonged doubtless to Priam's kingdom, and was sacked (Ω 544, I 129, &c.); the Thracian Samos, Imbros, and Lemnos occur here and there; Lemnos, half-Graecized, was friendly, Scyros required to be 'taken' (ἐλών, I 668): Tenedos was made a base. If, then, some islands assisted Agamemnon, and some (and these to the north) did not, and those that did had been colonized, we conclude that the reason that the others took no part in the war was that they were still un-Mycenaeen. The reason was political. The immediate result of the war was the acquisition of them also. The Melians even put forward 1116 as their date (Thuc. v. 112), and legend assigned the settlement to Menestheus on his return (Apoli. epit. 5. 15 b). Their previous relations with Greece will have been commercial. (Cf. Thompson, p. 135: on the remains at Melos and Thera, Dussaud, 88 sqq., 98 sqq.)

It is hardly necessary to notice how unlike this situation is to later history, how unflattering to the Dorian colonists of Halicarnassus and Cnidus, the Ionian princes, the ordinary inhabitants, and the epic poets of Miletus, Samos, and Lesbos, and to the school of Homer at Chios and Smyrna. All the concentration of the Homeriadae was unable to eject the Carian from Miletus and provide a heroic past for Ephesus and the Panionion. The Catalogue passed absolutely unscathed: later historians, such as Dictys (see p. 28), let in Colophon and thirty Cyclades. Miletus and Samos were favoured as early as Apollonius of Rhodes (p. 25).

We notice also that Greek legend as preserved by Diodorus v recognizes for the Sporades a stage or stages before the Dorian settlements. Dorian pride and influence were unable, as modern historians did till recently, to begin Greek history in the Aegean at their ἀποικία.

¹ The curious story, not Homeric but Cyclic (*Cypria*, fr. 20), of Anios and his three daughters, the Oenotropae, makes out Delos to have been independent. Photius, ep. ii. 48, Hergenröther (perhaps from a fuller version of Proclus' epitome) says Anios yielded to the influence of Palamedes after Ulysses had failed. Thrace takes the place of Delos in Servius on *Aen.* ii. 81.

CHAPTER V

NORTH-EASTERN GREECE

FROM Cos we are taken with no more than a *vñv aũ* to Greece north of Oeta. Mr. Thompson, l. c., 135, 6, thinks that the position of Thessaly at the end of the Catalogue is due to its recent conquest.

Thessaly gives us the greatest example of discrepancy between the Catalogue and historical conditions. Several discrepancies have manifested themselves up to this point, the name Boeoti, the Pelopid kingdom of Corinth, the vanished states and names of Pylos and Dulichium. In Thessaly all is different: instead of the four historical divisions we have, as Strabo says, nine dynasties (430: he says *ten*, but unless we adjoin Locris there are only nine), and the list of towns in Homer and later history is almost entirely different; in Thessaly proper the two lists have only Pherae, Iolcus, Tricca, Oloosson, Gyrton, and Meliboea in common (see p. 118). We have two tasks before us: to consider the relation between the two maps of Thessaly, and to define and identify the Homeric divisions and sites. It may be well first to state the historical divisions.

These are laid down by Strabo 430 *τοιαύτη δ' οὖσα εἰς τέτταρα μέρη διήρητο· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ μὲν Φθιώτις, τὸ δὲ Ἑστιαῖωτις τὸ δὲ Θετταλιώτις, τὸ δὲ Πελασγιώτις. ἔχει δ' ἡ μὲν Φθιώτις τὰ νότια τὰ παρὰ τὴν Οἴτην ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαλιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ Πυλαϊκοῦ μέχρι τῆς Δολοπίας καὶ τῆς Πίνδου διατείνοντα, πλατυνόμενα δὲ μέχρι Φαρσάλου καὶ τῶν πεδίων τῶν Θετταλικῶν· ἡ δ' Ἑστιαῖωτις τὰ ἐσπέρια καὶ τὰ μεταξὺ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς ἄνω Μακεδονίας· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ οἷ τε ὑπὸ τῇ Ἑστιαῖωτιδι νεμόμενοι τὰ πεδία, καλούμενοι δὲ Θετταλιῶται, συνάπτοντες ἤδη τοῖς κάτω Μακεδόσι, καὶ οἱ ἐφεξῆς τὰ μέχρι Μαγνητικῆς παραλίας ἐκκληροῦντες χωρία.*

The reader will notice that only three provinces are defined here; Πελασγιῶται is the reading of a minority of MSS. for Θετταλιῶται.¹ Either, therefore, of the two names has fallen out, owing, obviously, to the *rime riche*. Of the two names Πελασγιῶται seems made more probable by the words *συνάπτοντες ἤδη τοῖς κάτω Μακεδόσι*, which Pelasgiotis does in Perrhaebia: on the other hand if we supply, as we then must, Θετταλιῶται between καὶ οἱ and ἐφεξῆς we make

¹ The Vatican palimpsest, as I now see from Cozza-Luzi, *Della Geografia di Strabone. Frammenti scoperti in membrane palinseste. Parte terza* 1888, p. 90, has Θετταλιῶται with the majority.

Thessaliotis extend to the Magnesian coast, which is untrue. Strabo further defines Thessaliotis by saying 435, speaking of the Phthiotic Thebes, the Crocius campus, and the river Cuarius, ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Θεσσαλιώτιδος μιᾶς τῶν τεττάρων μερίδων τῆς συμπαύσης Θεσσαλίας, ἥς καὶ τὰ ὑπ' Εὐρυπύλῳ, καὶ ὁ Φύλλος ὅπου Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Φυλλαίου ἱερόν, καὶ Ἰχναί, ὅπου ἡ Θέμις Ἰχναία τιμᾶται, καὶ Κιέρος δ' εἰς αὐτὴν συντελεῖται [καὶ τᾶλλα] τῆς Ἀθαμανίας. In 438 he calls the right-hand tributaries of the Peneus τοὺς ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλιώτιδι ποταμούς. A list of towns of the Pelasgiotae is given 441: they include Demetrias, Crannon, and Scotussa. The frontiers of Thessaliotis and Phthiotis do not seem very plain.

This tetrarchy may be traced back to the fifth century: according to Aristotle, ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλῶν πολιτείᾳ fr. 455' (ap. Harpocr. in τετραρχία), the partition was made in the time of Aleuas son of Pyrrhus, and it appears to be the Dorian organization of the country. Hecataeus, fr. 112, puts Crannon in Pelasgiotis. Herodotus, i. 56, speaking of the Pelasgi mentions γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, from which they went to τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιν, from which they were driven to Pindus. Here we have another contradiction. On the other hand, c. 57, he defines Thessaliotis as near the Dorians (i. e. of Erineus). Hellanicus, fr. 28, has the four names. These inconsistencies may be left to the classical historian.

About the origin of these four names next to nothing is known. Phthiotis contains the old land-name Phthia, but apparently in a wider sense (see Costanzi, *Riv. di Filol.* xlii. 529 sqq.). Why Thessaliotis appropriated the national name is not clear, but in view of parallel cases of irrational nomenclature is intelligible. That Hestiaeotis, which contains Tricca and the upper gorge of the Peneus, can have anything to do with Hestiaeae or Euboea and through it with an Athenian deme (Strabo 445) no one will believe.¹ Hence the inference to be drawn from the name of the fourth district Pelasgiotis is obscure, though in this case, as in that of Thessaliotis, an explanation is given by tradition. Herodotus, i. 57, says of the Pelasgi at Creston ὅμουροί κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι, οἵκεον δὲ τῆνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιώτιν καλεομένην. They originally lived in Thessaliotis, that is in the plain of Cierion. If the Thessali, according to the story, coming over the pass ejected such a people from Thessaliotis, they might have moved over the low

¹ Ἡ δ' Ἐστία γέγονε Περραιβῶν κτίσις Scymnus 578, inverting the relations with more probability.

range of Crannon and Scotussa into the plain of Larissa and given the latter their name.

We proceed to the Homeric divisions.

21. The inhabitants of the Pelasgic argos, who lived in Alos, Alope, and Trachis, and possessed Phthia and Hellas, and were called Myrmidons and Hellenes and Achaei, sent fifty ships under Achilles.

Πελασγικὸν ἄργος does not recur in Homer.¹ The adjective, to judge by Ἀμφιλοχικόν and Ὀρεστικὸν ἄργος, must mean 'belonging to Pelasgi', a race which according to Herodotus quoted above οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν in the days of Deucalion. They were gone in the heroic age, perhaps turned out by the Myrmidons. Ζεὺς πελασγικός (II 233) may have been the God of the old people. But as Dodona is the seat of Πελασγοί, Hesiod, fr. 233, Πελασγικός may have a religious sense. The word ἄργος is a common noun (for we must not invent a city bound only to disappear). As a common noun ἄργος is proved by Strabo 372 ἄργος δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδίον λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις [i. e. in literature], παρ' Ὀμήρῳ δ' οὐδ' ἅπαξ· μάλιστα δ' οἶονται Μακεδονικὸν καὶ Θετταλικὸν εἶναι. Steph. Byz. in v. says ἄργος δὲ σχεδὸν πᾶν πεδίον κατὰ θάλασσαν. Examples from later literature are Callimachus, *Hecale*, ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 1118

Νηπιέης ἦτ' ἄργος (masc.) αἰοίδιμος Ἀδρήστεια,

Dionysius ap. Steph. Byz. in Δώτιον

καὶ κενεὸν [ἐ]κρότησε λέβης ἀνὰ Δώτιον ἄργος,

which = Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ Hesiod, fr. 122, 246, 2, h. Hom. xvi. 3. The word is still in use to mean 'valley' in Casos, Calymnos, and Nisyros according to Ross, *Reisen in den griech. Inseln*, ii. 92, iii. 32; for Nisyros see also *B.S.A.* xii. 170. As we have a masculine in Callimachus *supra*, have we a bye-form ἄργον in Paus. viii. 7. 1 in the plain of Mantinea, πεδίον . . . ἄργον καλούμενον? The usage is analogous to that of τέμπεα, τέμπος = valley in Theocr. i. 66 and currently in Byzantine writers, ἀναύρων = rivers Moschus i. 31,² Λάρισα and Ἀρέθουσα.

The phrase Πελασγικὸν ἄργος occurs in what may be called independent literature only in two places: the oracle (Hendess 178: ap. schol. Theocr. xiv. 48 from Dinias ἐν Ἀργολικοῖς, *F. H. G.* iv. 25, and

¹ Mela ii. 3 *a promonturio Sepiade . . . ad Pagasaeum sinum cursus est* is clearly wrong. Did he write *Pelagicum*?

² See P. Persson, *Indog. Forsch.* xxxv, pp. 199-216: αὔρ- = water; ἐπαύρους τοὺς χειμάρρους ποταμούς Hesych.

Phot. and Suid. in 'Υμῆς from Ion of Chios, *F. H. G.* ii, p. 51, fr. 17, and Mnaseas of Patara ἐν Δελφικοῖς χρησμοῖς, *ib.* iii. 157) of which the first line is

γαίης μὲν πάσης τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἄργος ἄμεινον.

The mention of Μεγαρεῖς v. 6 and the Hesiodic character of v. 5 show that the oracle, as might be expected, is not early: and no doubt the phrase Πελ. ἄργος is used in the antiquarians' sense of Thessaly. The Maliac plain, however, was fertile: the Echinaei, according to Polybius ix. 41. 11 καρποῦνται γῆν πάμφορον, and Zenodotus thought fit to rewrite line 681 as οἱ δ' Ἄργος εἶχον τὸ Πελασγικόν. οὐθαρ ἀρούρης.¹ The proverb may therefore have passed bodily with the interpretation of the term as Thessalian. The second passage is the story in Suidas in Ἀργόλαι: here the phrase means either Thessaly or Argolis (*C. Q.* 1909, 86). It means Argolis in Ep. gr. 846, Kaibel.

The later writers, logographers, tragedians, and geographers took a different view of Πελασγικὸν ἄργος. They interpreted it to mean either Argolis or Thessaly. They could hardly help themselves. Both terms were ambiguous: Πελασγικόν involved the theories about the Pelasgi, in full vogue in the fifth century;² ἄργος was evidently either the capital of Argolis or the city called after Amphilochus. The geographers inclined to give Achilles the tetrarchy called, we do not know why, Πελασγιῶτις; Euripides in the *Orestes* (692, 1247) uses the terms of Mycenae and Argolis. Now Argolis is occupied—by Perseidae, Danaidae, Pelopidae, Temenidae—at all periods of myth and history: Pelasgiotis rests, besides on its name, on the ambiguity of Phthia (to which we come directly), and on the political insignificance of Malis, an unworthy home, compared to Larissa, for Achilles. Explicit statements of the latter view are Apollodorus ap. Steph. Byz. in Ἀργουρα . . . Ἀπολλόδωρος δέ φησιν ἐν πρώτῳ νῶν καταλόγῳ Ἀργείους ὀνομάζεσθαι ἢ τῆς προσηγορίας μεταπεσούσης ἢ διὰ τὸ προσκυροῦν τὰ πεδία τῆς Θετταλίας, ἣν δὲ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος εἶπεν Ὀμηρος: Ephorus (*ut vid.*) ap. Strab. 221 καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἄργος Θετταλία λέγεται, τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ καὶ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν ἕως τῆς ὀρεινῆς τῆς κατὰ Πίνδον, διὰ τὸ ἐπάρξαι τῶν τόπων τούτων τοὺς Πελασγούς: this he

¹ Dimensions of the argos or πεδίον are given by Herodotus vii. 198, 199, Pausanias x. 20. 6 (in the time of Brennus, B. C. 279, when the delta had grown far below the bridge over the Spercheus). Bursian, i. 88, notes the fertility of the valley; Dodwell (ii. 67, 72, 75) talks of 'the luxuriant plain of Trachis'.

² See J. L. Myres, *J. H. S.* 1907, 170 sqq.

repeats 369 in the list of the meanings of Ἄργος: some varied between town and district, 431 οἱ μὲν καὶ πόλιν δέχονται Θετταλικὴν περὶ Λάρισαν ἰδρυμένην πότε, νῦν δ' οὐκέτι οὔσαν· οἱ δ' οὐ πόλιν ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν Θετταλῶν πεδῖον οὕτως ὀνοματικῶς λεγόμενον, θεμένου τοῦνομα Ἄβαντος ἐξ Ἄργους δεῦρ' ἀποικήσαντος. The Aleuadae captured Achilles as Argolis annexed Agamemnon.

Few towns are mentioned in proportion to the fifty ships and 2,500 men, as the account in II 168 gives them. Two are known, Trachis and Alope. Trachis was Peleus' capital, and is disguised, I have endeavoured to show, *C. R.* 1906, 199 sqq., as Μυρμιδόνων πόλις in the extract from Hesiod's Catalogi which is the foundation of the Shield of Heracles. In the late eighth century the tradition will have been alive. Alope was between Echinus and Larissa Cremaste, on the north side of the gulf, according to Stephanus in v. (he quotes in the same article Pherecydes and Philo. There were six places of the name). Stephanus was right, as Livy xlii. 57 shows: *Q. Marcius Chalcidem navibus venit, Alope capta, Larissa quae Cremaste dicitur obpugnata*. Alos had disappeared, but Parmeniscus (ap. Steph. in v.) said there was such a place. It is strange that no more villages are mentioned, not Larissa nor Echinus, Phalara nor any place at all up the valley. Does this show the slight hold of the dynasty? It lasted practically only Peleus' life, and Neoptolemus, or according to another account, Peleus himself evacuated the place and retired to Thesprotia.¹ Or did the incoming Enienes and Malians desert the old sites and take new ones? This was the rule in northern Thessaly.

The antiquarians were put out by these obscure names (Strabo 432 sqq.). Some allowed themselves to be attracted by the historical Halos in Phthiotis (among these was Artemidorus); others wished to annex Alope from the Locrian Ajax; others (called γλωσσογράφοι by Strabo) altered the reading Ἀλόπην into Ἀλιοῦνθ'. Apoll. Rhod. i. 51 and Orpheus Arg. 133 assign Alope as a home to a Phthian daughter of Myrmidon; Apollonius put it on the Amphrysus, Orpheus gives it the epithet πετρήεσσα. Mr. Leaf, abounding in this sense, calls the whole entry an imposture.

People of this mental habit should understand that the stock of place-names in ancient Greece was not very great. The same word did a great deal of duty. We have no survey or gazetteer of Greece,

¹ Peleus' banishment, Apollod. epit. 6 13; that of Neoptolemus, ib. 12; Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 82, vii. 54 al. The sons of Acastus came from Iolcus and turned him out,

and every time a local boundary inscription comes to light (such as that of Melitaea, *I. G.* IX. ii. 205, or the Argive document in *Mnemosyne*, 42. 330 sqq.) new facts are supplied; or if a detailed military narrative has survived in Plutarch's *Lives*,¹ a number of unknown sites appear. But incomplete as our knowledge is, even among the known places the same name occurs very often. If we turn over Stephanus, who has to serve as gazetteer, we find, to omit simple doubles, 8 cases of Ἀθῆναι, 7 of Αἰγαί, 5 or 6 of Αἶνος, 4 of Ἀκανθος, 10 of Ἀκρα, 5 of Ἀκράγας, 5 or 6 of Ἀκτῆ, 4 or 5 of Ἀμπελος, 11 of Ἀργος, 8 of Ἀρέθουσα according to Didymus on ν 408,² 4 of Ἀσίνη, 5 of Ἀστυρα, 5 of Δασκύλιον, 5 of Δάφνους (-ουσίς, -ούσιον), 5 of Δελφοί (-οῦσα, -ουσία, to which the cases of Τελφοῦσα, &c., should be added), 13 of Δῖα, 7 of Δῖον, 5 of Ἐρυθραί, 3 of Εὐρωπός, 6 or 7 of Ἐφυρα, 6 of Θέρμα, 9 of Θήβη, 6 of Κύμη, 6 of Ἴτων (-νῆ), 7 of Κορώνεια, 11 of Λάρισα, 6 of Μέγαρα, 5 of Μεθώνη, 8 of Μινώα, 8 of Νίκαια (εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι), 10 of Νῦσα, 4 of Οἰχαλία, 9 of Ὀλβία, 5 of Πέλλα, 3 of Πτελεός and Πύρρα, 4 of Σάμος, Ὑβλαι, and Ὑσία, 4 of Φαραί (Φη-), 4 of Φάρος and Φέραι, 8 of Χαλκίς, 7 of Χρῦση, 5 of Ψωφίς, 5 of Ὠρωπός. Investigation may take from these totals, as investigation will certainly add to them. (Ἀσωπός for instance is wanting, so is Ὀρχομενός. We may add the five Κολωναί in Strabo 589, and the Arisbas, *ib.* 590.) But we may say for certain that where a name is known to be common, a new occurrence of it is rather to be welcomed than rejected.

Now Ἄλος or Ἄλος and similar names are common. There was one Ἄλος in Phthiotis, another in Achaea; an Ἀλοῦς in Arcadia, a Halonnesus. Stephanus has five cases of Ἀλαί (2 in Attica, 1 in Boeotia, 1 in Argolis, 1 in Cilicia). We find Ἀλαῖαι near Larymna, *Plut. Sulla* 26; Ἀλιεῖς, Ἀλία or Ἀλίκη in Argolis, *Paus.* ii. 36. 1. Two unknown Magnesian towns, Ἄλη and Αἰόλη, are recovered from an inscription, *J. H. S.* 1906, 147. On a rapidly growing alluvial coast, such as the delta of the Spercheus, places are stranded and forgotten. 'Towns, castles, and temples have been swept from the surface of the earth,' Dodwell remarked in his diary, ii. 68, 69 sqq. Where are Spina and the other old towns once near the mouth of the Po? Where are the

¹ e.g. the Boeotian topography in *Lysander* 28 sqq., *Sulla* 15, *Demosth.* 19. Even Plutarch, himself a resident Boeotian, could not identify all the streams and villages.

² One in Chalcis, *Dicaearchus*, i. 27; one near Olynthus, *Seymnus* 635.

Κυλικρῆνες, inhabitants of Trachis according to Scythinus of Teos, *F. H. G.* iv. 49, and Polemo ἐν τῷ α' τῶν πρὸς Ἀδαίων καὶ Ἀντίγονον, both in Athen. 461 F? (According to Polemo they came from Lydia.)

But λόγου χάριν let us assume the section to be supposititious. The assumption involves the further one that the forger who for this or that motive gave Peleus a spurious kingdom made his creation plausible by taking one town from the Crocian plain and another (Alope, for this is Mr. Leaf's contention) from Locris. He enriched one canton at the expense of two others, and that though the Sperchean argos and bay offered him Larissa Cremaste, Echinus, Phalara, Hypate, Anticyra, Dercynna, to say nothing of Thermopylae if he wanted glory, and Lamia if he were not particular about anachronism. A hypothesis which involves a forger in such inexplicable policy need not detain us.

The two apparent regional names are Phthia and Hellas. In the body of the poem Achilles alludes to his home as Phthia (A 155, 169, I 253, 363, 439, Λ 756, Π 13, T 299, 323, 330), or as Phthia and Hellas (I 395). His subjects, however, are not called Φθῖοι, but usually Μυρμιδόνες. The term Φθῖοι is applied to two different peoples (to whom we come directly), neither of whom is subject to Peleus. It is applied to the next tribes northwards, the subjects of Protesilaus, who held the country known in historical times as Achaea Phthiotis, and to the subjects of Philoctetes who occupy the south extremity of the historical Magnesia. If we combine these usages we find the Phthian names (Φθία or Φθῖοι) in use from the Spercheus to Sepias. It persisted, moreover, in history, under a longer form: the district round the Crocian plain (in Homer under Protesilaus) was called Achaea¹ Phthiotis, and Phthiotis was one of the four divisions of Thessaly.

Hellas is the home of one of the Myrmidons (Π 595), and the position of it and of Phthia is indicated, though obscurely, in the story of Phoenix (I 484): he held, in Peleus' kingdom, the frontier of Phthia, and governed the Dolopes. These people do not appear again in Homer,² and no accurate definition of their site is possible; apparently they inhabited either Hypata and the upper parts of the

¹ In Herodotus (vii. 196) the river Apidanus belongs to Achaea, the Onochonus to Thessaly. On the dimensions of the historical Phthiotis see Costanzi, *Rivista di Filologia*, xlii. 529 sqq.

² Δόλοψ elsewhere seems a man's name.

Spercheus, or the mountains to the north of the valley. Ctimene in late writers is given as their capital.¹ If Phthia were on their frontier, Phthia may well have passed the watershed on the north side of the Spercheus (and hence have favoured the Pharsalian claim). In order to arrive at Phthia on his flight (I 447, 8) Phoenix came from and through Hellas, and as he left Hellas to avoid the rebuke of his father Amyntor, son of Ormenos, who inhabited Eleon or Heleon, apparently in Boeotia (K 266), Hellas must have been outside the frontier of Peleus and to the south of it. Hence the Locrian Ajax excelled with the spear 'all the Hellenes', that is, the Sperchean Hellenes as well as the Locrian (B 530).² To this extent Homeric evidence allows us to define these two regions.

This is the Pelasgic argos in Homer, the valley-kingdom of the brief dynasty of Peleus. Bounded on the north by Protesilaus, on the south by Ajax son of Oileus, its possibilities of expansion are up the stream towards Tymphrestus (the path the dynasty took when it retired to Epirus),³ or in the direction of the Peneus-watershed. The essential connexion with the Spercheus is shown in the parentage of Menesthius, II 174, and by Achilles' prayer, Ψ 144.

In historical times it was unimportant, and tenanted by Μηλιείς and Ἐνιῆνες.⁴ Are we to suppose these savage races appropriating a local term, Πελασγικὸν ἄργος, which in reality signified nothing less than Thessaly, and appropriating with it the leading Greek warrior? or that it was the interest of the nobles of Larissa and Pharsalus to endow fishermen and shepherds with their own heroic past? Otherwise, how did the section come into existence? *Cui bono?*

22. Next along the Pagasaeon bay we have Podarces, brother of the defunct Protesilaus. The dynasty is taken back by Homer through Iphiclus father of the two leaders to Phylacus, and by Apollodorus, i. 86, to Deion, king of Phocis, son of Aeolus. The

¹ Steph. in v., no doubt from Ap. Rhod. i. 68.

² In Apollodorus ii. 167 the sons of Heracles, who are in refuge with Ceyx at Trachis, at the threats of Eurystheus, Τραχίνα καταλιπόντες διὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔφυγον. The direction in which Hellas lies is shown by the sequel; διωκόμενοι δὲ ἦλθον εἰς Ἀθήνας. Hellas was south of Trachis, that is more or less equivalent to Locris, or the northern part of Locris.

Here I may refer to my article Μυρμιδόνων πόλις, C. R. 1906, 193 sqq. On Amyntor see further, p. 126.

³ According to another account (Callimachus, fr. 342) Peleus died in the island Icus.

⁴ Herod. vii. 198 Σπερχεῖδος ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιήνων. Scylax 62 τῇ Μαλιέων χώρα ἐποικιοῦσιν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ μεσογείας Αἰνιᾶνες, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ρεῖ ὁ Σπερχεῖδος ποταμὸς. See generally Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, 278 sqq., where it is shown that the language of this region was not Aeolic but 'West-Greek'.

dynasty belongs to the house of Iolcus and Corinth. Podarces is in command of forty ships from Phylace, his home, Pyrasus, Iton, Antron, and Pteleos. These places, together with others omitted, such as the Phthiotid Thebes, Halos, the rivers Amphrysus and Cuarius, were contained in the historical Achaea Phthiotis, and this section of all those in Thessaly corresponds best to a later district. No name is given to it or to the people, but the latter are called $\Phi\theta\iota\omicron\iota$, N 693. The considerable number of ships seems justified by the traces of habitation recently discovered: see e.g. Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, 1912, 150 sqq. The ancient name of their stratified mound, Zerelia, is unknown.¹

23. Next to Protesilaus' Phthians comes Eumelus with eleven ships. His parents, Admetus and Alcestis, are celebrated. His mother was the heiress of Pelias, and brought with her the lands of the dynasty established at Iolcus for five generations from Aeolus. Iolcus is the northernmost state of the district assigned by legend to the Aeolidae. The three daughters of Pelias were portioned by Jason, Diod. iv. 53. The two families were already connected according to the genealogy λ 235 sqq., and in the later writers.

His towns were Pherae (Velestino), Boebe, Glaphyrae, Iolcus, and they were 'by lake Boebeis'. He therefore held the anchorages at the head of the bay, and the tract of country between the beginning of the pass of Velestino and the Boebeid lake: and must have provided transport for the potentates of the interior, as Agamemnon did for the Arcadians. His horses were famous (763); Apollo bred them at Perea, a place of whose situation we are minutely informed owing to the survival of the arbitration between it and Melitaea (*I. G.* ix. 2. 205). The name was lost, having given way in the text to two conjectures, $\Phi\eta\rho\acute{\eta}$, on the lines of $\Phi\eta\rho\eta\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\alpha\omicron$ (763), and $\Pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\eta}$, which became the vulgate. The real form survived in Stephanus, from which it escaped into several unconnected mediaeval MSS. A papyrus of the second century after Christ preserves it and the Homeric scholia of Ox. pap. 1086, and those on Thucydides, Ox. pap. 853, show how a conjecture con-

¹ Mr. Leaf (p. 124) has a notion of a discrepancy between the forty ships in the Catalogue and the account of the setting alight of Protesilaus' ship, O 704 sqq. This seems a delusion. It is explicitly said that the ship set fire to was that which had carried Protesilaus to Troy, from which he leapt, first of the Greeks, to the shore (B 702). Even a hero cannot sail on more than one ship at a time, nor could Hector clutch the *aplustre* of more than one ship at once. Protesilaus' men are included among the Ἀχαιοί who fought round it. *Alors?*

demned in the third century B.C. can win its way to almost universal acceptance. Perea may have belonged to Eumelus, though it is some distance from Pherae. If it did it limits Phthia on this side.¹ 'Probably the lands of Pherae included some of the hills to the west towards Scotussa, which are to-day included in the commune of Velestinos' (Wace).

Eumelus' second appearance is in Ψ , in the same character and with poor luck. (He came off better in the games after Achilles' death; Apoll. epit. 5. 21.) The tyrants of Pherae were important people in the fourth century, and no doubt were pleased with Eumelus' horses and the son of Alcestis; but if this section were their work, or the work of an earlier occupant of Pherae, they would have given themselves a better ancestor than the owner of an unfortunate racing-stable. Jason could draw no title to the *ταγεία* from this section.

The barony was a small one, but Orminion (Strabo 438), Pagasae, and Amphanaea are omitted: there is nothing corresponding to the two sites Sesklo and Dhimini, excavated by Tsountas (see the summary in *Prehistoric Thessaly*, 58 sqq., Dussaud, 186 sqq.). Pherae had a well of some repute. This is not mentioned; why should it have been? Pirene, certainly more famous, is not mentioned under Corinth. Some one thought differently, and completed line 711 with *ἰδὲ κρήνην Ὑπέρειαν* from 734. Of Pherae itself Mr. Wace says 'prehistoric settlements are common round it, and its so-called acropolis is a large prehistoric mound of the high type'.

24. The Iolcan bay is completed by a detachment of seven ships from Methone, Thaumacia, Meliboea, and Olizon, under Philoctetes, in whose place Medon, bastard son of Oileus and half-brother of the Locrian Ajax, acted. He had left Locris owing to blood-guilt and gone to live in Phylace (N 693 sqq.); on Philoctetes' disablement he was 'lent' by the Phthians across the bay.

No race-name is given to the people, but, N 693, they are called *Φθιοι*. The topography of this district has been investigated by Mr. Wace, *J. H. S.* 1906, 143 sqq. (where see the older literature). There is no epigraphic evidence for identifying the particular sites

¹ According to the other version of the Apollo-story, Admetus' cattle grazed by the Amphrysus near Halos (this is apparently the meaning of Lucan vi. 368). Here there would have been a real contradiction between the sections—but Homer does not make it.

except in the case of Meliboea.¹ In historical times the district was called Μαγνησία, but in the heroic age this name was confined to the region immediately north, beyond Meliboea. Mr. Leaf sticks at the inclusion of this town in the barony, but it is natural that the east-coast villages should have counted with Methone and Olizon. Scylax 65 reckons four Magnesian towns outside the gulf of Volo. Meliboea must have belonged to some one, we cannot make it a free town to please Mr. Leaf. Orpheus, *Arg.* 166

Εὐρυδάμας δ' ἐπόρουσε λιπὼν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην
ἀγχόθι Πηνειοῖο καὶ εὐπελαγέος Μελιβοίης,

connects it with the interior, i.e. the Dotian plain: Livy xlv. 13 with the south: *sita in radicibus Ossae montis qua parte in Thessaliam vergit, opportune imminens super Demetriadem.*

Thaumacia also was on the coast, according to Strabo 436 (if we read *ā* and not *ῥ*).² It was evidently the native place of the grandfather, Thaumacus (Ποίας Θαυμάκον, Apoll. i. 112), as Phylace was of Phylacus. Proper names, whether of persons or places, from this apparent stem are not uncommon: Fick-Bechtel, *Gr. Personennamen*, 141, give Θαυμαρέτη, Θαυμάριον, Θαύμιον, Θαύμας (in Hesiod), Θαῦμις, Θαημίας, Θαυμῖνος, Θαυμνίας, Θαύμων, Θαυμασίλα, Θαύμανδρος, Θαύμασις, Θαύμαστος, as well as Θώμων, Θωμάντος. Θαυμάσιον is a hill, Paus. viii. 36. 2, and Ἰθώμη in its shortened form Θούμαιον (ap. Steph. in Ἰθώμη) or Θαμαί, Strab. 437 (? Θαυμαί), Livy's Theuma (p. 122) approaches the form.

For Thaumacus Eust. 323. 41 gives Phylacus, whom he regards as the same as the ancestor of Protesilaus. This makes Philoctetes an Aeolid: another way of conveying the same thing is Apollodorus' statement, i. 50, that Magnes was a son of Aeolus.

No one but Mr. Leaf would have mixed this place up with Θαυμακοί the modern Domokó, which, according to Livy, owed its name to the wonderful view of the Thessalian plain enjoyed from it. Georgiades, p. 143, considers the name even more appropriate to a Magnesian site now called Skiti.

Θαυμακία weakly expresses my astonishment at Mr. Leaf. Because Philoctetes (or Poeas) passed by and, a good Samaritan, helped

¹ See *Liverpool Annals*, iii, pp. 157 sqq., no. 12 ('the kastro of Polydhendri').

² This is one of the lacunae in all of Strabo's MSS. except Par. 1397. This MS. reads *τᾶλλα δε[δε]ῖν ἡρίθμηται, ἥ τε Θαυμακία καὶ [ἡ] Ὀλιζίων καὶ ἡ Μελίβοια τῆς ἐξῆς παραλίας ἐστίν*, and it is more easy to suppose *ā* or even *aī* falling out between *-a* and *τ* than *ῥ*. A mirror shows *ελίβοια τ* clearly.

Heracles to a light for his pyre on Oeta, he cannot have resided in Magnesia!¹ Mr. Leaf has the *δόξαν ἐπὶ γλώσσα λιγυρᾶς ἀκόντας* which Pindar claimed when he identified his grandmother, Metopa, with the Metopa of Stymphalus, and made the Asopus of Boeotia and the Asopus of Aegina twins. While he was about it, why did Mr. Leaf neglect Methone? There are five Methonae, and even Strabo thinks it necessary to say that this one was not the Macedonian. There is another Meliboea, too (Livy xxxvi. 13), north of Tricca (Leake, *N. G.* iv. 336), but purple fish (Lucr. ii. 500; Verg. *Aen.* v. 25; Philostr. *heroic.* 744) require sea-water. *Ἴπνοι*, too, is on this coast: there is *Ἴπνοι* or *Ἰπνεία* among the Ozolian Locri, and *Ἰπνοῦς* or *Ἰπνονοσία* at Samos (Steph. in v.). And why limit our view to Magnesia? Surely the bungler who carved Protesilaus' department took *Πτελεός* (Ftelió) from Triphylia (B 594), or the Troad (Strabo 595)? The map which has occupied the leisure of a public man (p. 128) can easily be improved.

The poet, therefore, conceives of Phthia the place as belonging to a tribe on the Spercheus, Phthius the name as belonging to two peoples on opposite sides of the bay of Iolcus. These conditions point, as I suggested, *C. R.* 1906, 198, to an old district-name earlier than the actual provinces. Under political change the district was divided between three states in such a way that the noun belonged to one, the adjective to another. Phthia the place shrank. There are examples of the adjective of a place having a wider extension than the place to which the name at a given moment belongs. If we consider such limitations and extensions of noun and adjective as Bretagne, Grande Bretagne, British Empire, 'Britisher'; Lombardia, Lombard, Lombardic; Judaea, Jew; canton Schwyz, Swiss; Gaul, Wales, Wälsch; such a relation between *Φθία* and *Φθῖοι* cannot be called impossible or unlikely.

This is taking the Homeric evidence as it stands. But it must be remembered that though the Catalogue is a precise document, the statements that can be gathered from the body of the poem are capricious, and depend on the events the poet chooses we shall hear told. If Homer had included in his drama the death of Protesilaus,

¹ Diod. iv. 38 *παρεκάλει τὸν αἰὲ παρόντα ὑφάψαι τὴν πυρὰν· οὐδενός τε τολμώντος ὑπακοῦσαι μόνος Φιλοκτῆτης ἐπέισθη*. Apollod. ii. 160 *Ποίας παριὼν κατὰ ζήτησιν ποιμνίων* [they had been stolen and bestowed who knew where, like Apollo's oxen and Iphitus' and Glaucus' horses]. If, as in other versions, Philoctetes were an *ὀπάων* of Heracles, this no more disturbs his place of origin than the same position prevents Telamon being an Aeginetan.

or the malady of Philoctetes, or his return, either or both of them might have been found to bewail, or extol, or despair of returning to, Phthia; and in that case the use of the word as the home of Achilles, Protesilaus, and Philoctetes would belong to the simple type of the extinct political name still used in ordinary speech; Picardy and Provence, Lombardia, Veneto, Terra di Lavoro, East Anglia, and Leinster remain in use though their legal force is gone.

On either hypothesis the phraseology of the Catalogue is intelligible, and involves no interference with the document. If we ask the causes which divided Phthia, we may imagine they consisted in the settlement of the various tribes, whether Mycenaean or not, which encamped on this coast. Peleus came from Aegina and was an Aeacid. The other dynasties were Aeolid, and had been longer established in their kingdoms: whether they originally came from the south or not cannot be decided. (The Minyae went from Orchomenus to Iolcus, Strabo 414.) Peleus, therefore, was a Myrmidon among Aeolids, and his kingdom may have originally belonged to a larger unit. The relations between him and Iolcus are unfriendly, and according to one version 'the children of Acastus' drove him from his kingdom (Apollod. epit. 5. 13).

The Dorian invasion disturbed these small states. Achaea Phthiotis remained, the semi-circle of hills enclosing the Κρόκιον πεδίον, but Eumelus' realm was merged in Pelasgiotis, the Phthii of Sepias were merged in Magnesia. The Spercheus-valley became an abode of Malian fishermen¹ at its mouth, of Enienes farther up, not differing indeed much from the Myrmidones and Achaei, but without the dynasty which distinguished them. The new Phthiotis assumed the quality of the Homeric Phthia, and may have coincided more or less with its acreage: but the identification with the tetrarchy gave Phthia a wider sweep, and made it contain important sites unknown to Homer. Accordingly, when Greek historians came to reconstruct Homeric Greece, and to adjust the position of historical Greece with regard to it, the ambiguity of the name Phthia and the change in inhabited sites and political power created much confusion in their interpretation.

Strabo 431 Φθίαν οἱ μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ Ἀχαΐα, ταύτας δ' εἶναι διατεμνομένης τῆς συμπάσης Θετταλίας θάτερον μέρος τὸ νότιον.

¹ They cannot have differed much from the inhabitants of Anthedon, of whom Dicaearchus says (*F. H. G.* ii. 259) c. 24 σχεδὸν πάντες ἀλιεῖς, ἀπ' ἀγκίστρων καὶ ἰχθύων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πορφύρας καὶ σπόγγων τὸν βίον ἔχοντες.

οἱ δὲ διαιροῦσιν. ἔοικε δ' ὁ ποιητὴς δύο ποιεῖν τήν τε Φθίαν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὅταν οὕτως φῇ [he quotes B 683, I 478, 395]. ὁ μὲν οὖν ποιητὴς δύο ποιεῖ, πότερον δὲ πόλεις ἢ χώρας οὐ δηλοῖ. οἱ δ' ὕστερον τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οἱ μὲν εἰπόντες χώραν διατετάσθαι φασὶν εἰς τὰς Θήβας τὰς Φθιώτιδας ἀπὸ Παλαιφαρσάλου· (ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ Θετιδίον ἐστὶ πλησίον τῶν Φαρσάλων ἀμφοῖν, τῆς τε παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς νέας) καὶ τοῦ Θετιδίου τεκμαιρόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ μέρος εἶναι καὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν· οἱ δ' εἰπόντες πόλιν, Φαρσάλιοι μὲν δεικνύουσιν ἀπὸ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων τῆς ἑαυτῶν πόλεως κατεσκευασμένην πόλιν, ἣν πεπιστεύκασιν εἶναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ δύο κρήνας πλησίον, Μεσσηίδα καὶ Ὑπέρειαν, Μελιταιεῖς δ' ἄπωθεν ἑαυτῶν ὅσον δέκα σταδίους ᾠκῆσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα πέραν τοῦ Ἐνιπέως, ἥνικα ἢ ἑαυτῶν πόλις Πύρρα ὠνομάζετο, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν ταπεινῷ χωρίῳ κειμένης εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν μετοικῆσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μαρτύριον δ' εἶναι τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τάφον τοῦ Ἑλληνος, τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος υἱοῦ καὶ Πύρρας. Admirable specimen of heraldic history!

These opinions can be traced a long way back. As early as 750-700 Phthia in Hesiod, fr. 128, was Πηνειοῦ παρ' ὕδωρ, which one would hesitate to take literally and would understand Peneus as its southern affluents, i. e. the Peneus-basin, but that Strabo's statement (434) coincides: παρέτεινε δ' ἡ χώρα αὕτη πρὸς ἄρκτον μὲν τῇ τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν τῶν μάλιστα προσεσπερίων. Phthia was therefore made to meet the later Histiaeotis, and the gap which Homer seemed to leave in the Peneus-basin filled up. The Little Iliad (fr. xix) of the same period makes Andromache and Aeneas taken to Φαρσαλίαν, τὴν Ἀχιλλέως πατρίδα. The tragedians, it is notorious, thought Phthia was Pharsalus (e. g. Eur. *Andromache*, 16 sqq.). Pindar's references are ambiguous, but probably imply the same view. According to Pherecydes, fr. 16, Pharsalus claimed to be Phthia. Dicaearchus (iii. 2, *Geog. min.* p. 109) said the Myrmidons lived in the Thessalian Phthia, the Hellenes between Pharsalus and Melitaea, the Achaeans in Melitaea, Larissa Cremaste, and the Achaean Thebes. Parmeniscus (ap. Steph. in Φθία) made Phthia a region, but recent opinion (οἱ νεώτεροι, as schol. δ 9) identified the ἄστυ Μυρμιδόνων with Pharsalus. A story about the Θετιδεῖον in that district is given by Phylarchus (fr. 82).

We see that inland Phthiotis in general and the Pharsalian nobles the Creondae in particular, basing themselves on the survival of the name, annexed the Phthian hero Achilles and his mother; such an ancestry could not be left in the hands of Malian fishermen or in a valley which was a mere thoroughfare between mountain-passes.

Here we have a plain motive, and we see what it was able to accomplish. It could not touch the text of Homer, but, partly by ignoring it, partly by interpretation, secured itself a place in the Homeric world.

The claim, however, was not undisputed : as we have seen (p. 109), the Pelasgic argos was usually interpreted of the plain of Larissa : this tradition came down to Procopius, *de aedif.* 274. 10, who says that Phthia was originally by Larissa. The Menon of the time of the Lamian war called his daughter Φθία (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 1).

These shores are full of history. Deucalion and Pyrrha, Athamas, Cycnus, Ceyx at Trachis, Philoctetes, Hercules, the dynasty at Iolcus, Jason—all appear in legend in the region between Oeta and Iolcus, and above Iolcus we have Chiron on Pelion. The Homeric story does not take account of several of these figures, and offers perhaps another case of the opposition to local legend of which Monro speaks. The opposition, however, is not as trenchant as in the case of Corinth, and it may be doubted if there is any real contradiction. The dynasty of Pelias and Acastus at Iolcus is as we have seen represented by Eumelus : when Pelias gave his daughter Alcestis to Admetus he was preparing the union of the adjoining kingdoms of Iolcus and Pherae, and we find them under one hand in the *Iliad*. In the *Odyssey* (δ 797) Eumelus is the husband of Penelope's sister. Here then there is no discrepancy, and there is no other claimant in legend for Protesilaus' kingdom. In Pindar, *Isthm.* i. 58, his τέμενος is at Phylace, his subjects are Ἀχαιοί. Ceyx, like Athamas and Deucalion, belongs to an earlier period. The story of Peleus was much developed by the νεώτεροι, in a moralizing direction, but even in the most elaborate forms of the story there is nothing to take him from Trachis or Phthia. He comes back to Phthia with booty and a bride, Hesiod, fr. 81 :

πολλὰ κτήματ' ἄγων ἐξ εὐρυχόρου Ἰαωλκοῦ,
λαοῖσιν δὲ ἰδοῦσιν ἀγαίετο θυμὸς ἅπασιν
ὥς τε πόλιν ἀλάπαξεν εὐκτιτον κτλ.

Pindar's expressions, e. g. *Isthm.* viii. 40 that the strand of Iolcus had no more pious man than Peleus, and *Nem.* iii. 14 that Peleus took Iolcus μόνος ἄνευ στρατιᾶς, might seem to assist Mr. Leaf's otherwise unsupported notion that Peleus proceeded from Aegina to Iolcus and 'his mountain', and was dispatched to the Spercheus by a determined Cataloguer. A moment's examination shows that

the statements are reconcilable with the usual legend (the only fault Pherecydes had to find, fr. 18, was that Pindar exaggerated Peleus' prowess). Peleus won his reputation for virtue at Iolcus when he resisted the advances of Acastus' wife. The incident is upon strict Joseph-lines, and in the Greek Joseph-story the pious man, Bellerophon at Tiryns, Peleus at Iolcus—is a foreigner who has left his own place to be cleansed of *μύσος*.¹ The visits of Peleus to Chiron on Pelion do not imply that Peleus had an original connexion with the place. Chiron held an academy on his mountain which was attended by, among other heroes, Asclepius all the way from Tricca (Δ 354; Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 54).² The mountain belonged if to any one to Chiron. And if we start name-guessing why leave out Pelias? If his vowel was short his tenure of Iolcus was long. It is dangerous to speculate on connexions between heroic persons and heroic places. On Mr. Leaf's principles Neleus had 'his river' Νηλεύς in Euboea, and Rhesus, I suppose, was the river 'Ρῆσος. Some one has made Achilles = 'Αχελῷος, a river-god. Compare Mr. Shewan, 'The Dominion of Peleus', *C. R.* 1916, 184 sqq.

Hitherto we have been taken round the Phthiotic coast, from the Spercheus to Sepias. To account for the rest of Thessaly the Cataloguer seems to take the line of the Peneus. The baronies he next mentions all lie upon it, if in a strange order. Mr. Arkwright writes: 'Thessaly is treated as if it were a distinct country; it only touches on the east coast if at all . . . it rather looks as if [the countries] were meant to be in three lines, which run more or less from south-west and west to north-east and east, one above another across the plain, from the mountains on the west to the range running down the coast, leaving the outer coast itself to the last. . . . The Greeks were always astonishingly ignorant of bearings, and Homer did not even know the pole-star. They did not travel at night, and had no means of fixing noon precisely, so they had vague ideas of north and south. Hardly any of Strabo's identifications are absolutely certain, and most are mere conjecture'.

25. The inhabitants of Tricca, steep Ithome, and Oechalia, Eurytus' town, send thirty ships under the two excellent physicians Podalirius and Machaon, sons of Asclepius. Very fortunately this first entry is fixed by Tricca, one of the few prehistoric names which

¹ This does not hold of the Phaedra type of story, e. g. Hebrus and Damasippe, *Plut. de Fluv.* iii and Myenus, *ib.* viii.

² Xenophon, *Cyngeticus*, i. 2 gives him twenty-one pupils.

has survived. As early as Anna Comnena v. 5 and 7 (then in the treaty of Alexius III, A.D. 1199, Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, p. 5) it became *Τρίκκαλα* which it now is.¹

The dynasty appears to be native, at least Thessalian, for Asclepius according to the usual account (Apoll. iii. 118; Hesiod, fr. 123; h. Hom. xvi; Pindar, *Pyth.* iii; Apoll. Rhod. iv. 616) was son of Coronis, the daughter of Phlegyas, who reigned in the Dotian πεδίον or ἄργος, namely at Lacerea near Boebeis and the river Amyrus according to Pindar and Apollonius. This native origin seems suitable in the case of a medicine-man: the names also are autochthonous, for I shall be pleased to be given etymologies of Podalirius or Machaon. The dynasty was continued in Alexander, son of Machaon (Paus. ii. 11. 5).

Oechalia is defined as the town of Eurytus, who in his day was celebrated: he was the patron of Thamyris, B 596, challenged Apollo with the bow, θ 224, and was the father of Iphitus and Iole, who entangled him with Heracles who destroyed his town (Apollod. ii. 127, 156). Hence, apparently, the recollection of it faded early, for by the time of Creophylus the Homerid, author of the *Οἰχαλίας ἀλωσις*, with whom Hecataeus concurred (Paus. iv. 2. 3), it was taken to be the Oechalia in Euboea, and in the story of Thamyris there were those who either invented an Oechalia in Messenia or put the Eurytean town there (οἱ Μεσσηνιοί, ap. Paus. l. c.). According to Pausanias, l. c., the Thessalians averred that Εὐρύτιον, a derelict village, was Oechalia. The dynasty was now extinct: Iphitus and Clytius had been Argonauts, and Iphitus had been killed by Heracles (Ap. Rhod. i. 86).

There is no direct evidence for the site, nor for Ithome, which Strabo in an uncertain passage (437) says is more properly Θώμη and is to be identified with Θαμαί, and had been synoecized with Metropolis.² Leake, *N. G.* iv. 510, thinks that he has identified the quadrilateral of which Strabo speaks, and puts Ithome at Fanári.

¹ The MSS. of Procopius, *de aedif.* 274. 1 have *Τρικάρτους*, but Wessely ad Hierocl. p. 417 emended *Τρίκκα τούς*, which is now printed. The other Thessalian towns he mentions are Ἐχιναῖον, Θηβαί, Φάρσαλος, Δημητρίαις, Μητρόπολις, Γόμφοι.

² Τὴν δ' Ἰθώμην ὁμωνύμως τῇ Μεσσηνιακῇ λεγομένην οὐ φασι δεῖν οὕτως ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρῶτην συλλαβὴν ἀφαιρεῖν· οὕτω γὰρ καλεῖσθαι πρότερον, νῦν δὲ Θαμαί μετονομάσθαι, χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν καὶ τῷ ὄντι κλωμακόν, ἰδρυμένον μεταξὺ τεττάρων φρουρίων, Τρίκκης τε καὶ Μητροπόλεως καὶ Πελλινναίου καὶ Γόμφων. Stephanus in Ἰθώμῃ says καλεῖται δὲ ὁ τόπος τῆς Θετταλικῆς Θούμαιον ἀποβολῇ τοῦ τ καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ ω εἰς τὴν ου δίφθογγον. The doubtless common source is unknown. Strabo's Θαμαί may therefore be for Θαύμα (-αιον) or Θεύμα (-αιον): Livy's Theuma seems the same word: xxxii. 13 *Theuma inde et Calathana vicos expugnant diripiuntque*.

It is plain that the Asclepiadae commanded the mouth of the Peneus valley where it opens on the plain, and secured the passage from Thesprotia, a necessary precaution until the passes and Dodona were included, by means of Guneus' barony, in the Greek world.

The Asclepiads' kingdom corresponded to the later Hestiaeotis. 'It is to be noted that it lies outside the area within which prehistoric mounds occur; but no excavations in this district have yet taken place except those of Kastriotis' (Wace).

26. The inhabitants of Ormenion, the fountain Hypereia, Asterios, and the white peaks of Titanos filled forty ships under Eurypylus son of Euaemon.

Eurypylus is an important hero, one of the *grands blessés* of A. Nothing is handed down about his origin. The dynasty in Apollonius (below) is different. Eurypylus may have been a newcomer. His district is very faintly defined. As it comes next to the Triccaean and before the Lapithae, both of whom are fixed, we expect to find it between them, perhaps touching the Peneus, and of about the same size as the Lapith country. None of the four sites mentioned is known; the last two, Ἀστέριος and Τίτανος, are the most promising.

Apollonius of Rhodes contributes some geography in his Catalogue, i. 35:

ἦλυθε δ' Ἀστερίων αὐτοσχεδόν, ὃν ῥα Κομήτης
γείνατο δινήεντος ἐφ' ὕδασιν Ἀπιδανοῖο,
Πειρεσιᾶς ὄρεος Φυλληίου ἀγχόθι ναίων,
ἔνθα μὲν Ἀπιδανός τε μέγας καὶ δῖος Ἐνιπεὺς
ἄμφω συμφορέονται ἀπόπροθεν εἰς ἐν ἰόντες.

Asterion, who may be supposed to be the eponym of Asterius, lived in Piresiae, at the confluence of the Apidanus and Enipeus. This is copied in the Orphic *Argonautica* (i. 164, 5), only that there Piresiae stands at the junction of the Apidanus with the Peneus. This is a fairly good localization. Strabo 439 is brief, but informs us that Τίτανος is significant: Τίτανος δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὠνομάσθη [*sc.* from τίτανος = chalk]. λευκόγαιον γάρ ἐστι τὸ χωρίον Ἀρνης πλησίον ἐ[5]τῶν.¹ καὶ τὸ Ἀστέριον δ' οὐκ ἄπωθεν τούτων ἐστί. Besides his interpretation of Τίτανος he throws Arne into the cauldron. Previously (435), speaking of Iton and the river Curalius, he had said ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Θετταλιώτιδος, μῖας τῶν τεττάρων μερίδων τῆς συμπάσης

¹ The reading, and thence the supplement printed by Kramer and Meineke, are wrong. My collation reads πλησίον ἐ[5]τῶν καὶ τὸ κτλ.

Θετταλίας, ἥς καὶ τὰ ὑπ' Εὐρυπύλῳ, καὶ ὁ Φύλλ[ος ὅπου Ἀπόλλω]νος τοῦ Φυλλαίου ἱερόν, καὶ Ἰχναί ὅπου ἡ Θέμις Ἰχναία τιμᾶται καὶ Κίερος δ' εἰς αὐτὴν συντελείται. The other places are as unknown as Piresiae, but Κίερος or Κιέριον has been fixed: Leake, *N. G.* iv. 498, from an inscription (*I. G.* ix. 2. 61), identified Mataranga in the required position with Κιέριον. The ancients (e.g. Steph. Byz. in v.) made the equation of Κιέριον and Arne, and whether that is so or not, it seems plain that the Peneus, Apidanus and Enipeus, Asterius, Titanus, Piresiae, Cierium, Ichnae and Phyllus were in the same part of Thessaly, that called in historical times Thessaliotis: and Leake, l.c., 322, finds that the lines from the two *Argonautica* 'may be applied to the hill of Vlokhó, which is situated between the junction of the Apidanus with the Enipeus, and that of the united stream with the Peneius . . . Piresiae was believed to be the same place as the Homeric Asterium [Steph. in v.] and to have received this appellation from its situation on a high hill, as conspicuous as a star. Nothing can be more apposite to this etymology than the mountain of Vlokhó, which by its abruptness, insulated situation, and white rocks attracts the spectator's notice from every part of the surrounding country. If the more ancient parts of the ruins of Vlokhó are those of the Homeric Asterium, the words Τιτάνοιό τε λευκὰ κάρηνα, which the poet couples with Ἀστέριον, were intended doubtless for the conspicuous summit occupied by the acropolis of that city, and the white calcareous rocks of which are well suited to the name Titanus'. Heuzey, *Mission archéol. en Macédoine*, 1876, pp. 411-13, agrees with Leake. See also Georgiades, pp. 205, 206, and Edmonds, *B. S. A.* v. 21, who says 'on the left bank of the Apidanus and near the village of Vlokho a curious semispherical rocky hill rises to a height of about 280 metres, a conspicuous object from all points of the western Thessalian plain', and Mr. Wace, whose unpublished account I borrow with compunction, 'the chief reason why this barony has been unintelligible to critics is that all, with few exceptions, have blindly followed Strabo in assuming Ormenion to be the same as Orminion near Demetrias, and in thinking that the fountain Hypereia was the same as the well-known one of that name at Pherae. The fixed point for this barony is Asterios, which Stephanus says is the same as the classical Peirasiae. Peirasiae, which is mentioned by Livy and Thucydides and issued coins, is identified with the rocky fortress of Strongilovuni near the village of Vlokhos, close to the junction of the Enipeus with the Peneus.

Titanos, to judge by Strabo, was near Arne, and was called white because of the colour of the hills. The Thessalian Arne, according to Stephanus, became in later days Cierium, which is placed, most probably rightly, at the Hellenic city on the peak of the large isolated hill that lies in the plain just north of Sophadhes. This hill is a bare mass of limestone, and under the southern sun appears white at a distance.' If this may be regarded as made out, the domain of Eurypylus occupied in general the later Thessaliotis, that is, the basin of the Enipeus, Apidanus, and Onochonus, the south-west slopes of the range of Cynoscephalae and Crannon, and reached to the Peneus at mount Titanus, between the Triccaei on the west and the gorge which led to Larissa and the Lapithae on the east.

Ormenion and the fountain Hyperea are unknown. Strabo 438 identified Ormenion with a village under Pelion by the Pagasaetic gulf long since synoecized into Demetrias, called according to some of his MSS. ὄρμενον, according to others ὀρμίνιον, twenty-seven stadia from Demetrias. His source is Demetrius of Scepsis, whom he quotes in the next sentence. We must not deny the existence of this village, but its site is required for Eumelus' domain; Eumelus possessed Iolcus and Iolcus was twenty stades from Orminion. Moreover, important baron as Eurypylus was, we cannot have his barony straying from Titanus on the Peneius across the Cynoscephalae ridge to the Pagasaean gulf. These natural conclusions are made by Leake, *N. G.* iv. 434, Georgiades, p. 127. Future exploration may discover a definite site for Ormenion. The absence of Pharsalus in Homer, contrasted with its later prominence and natural importance, suggests this neighbourhood. Mr. Wace says: 'Ormenion has been identified by Γεωργιάδης [*Θεσσαλία*, pp. 37, 213] with the hill known as Kturi, near Pharsalus. This hill is surrounded by a wall of large rough blocks which seems to be of early date, and the southern peak of the hill outside the main wall is enclosed by another wall so as to make an acropolis. On either side of the hill rise springs. Now Strabo says that near Pharsalus was a site said to be that of Hellas, where there were two springs, Messeis and Hypereia. Since then Kturi suits the site near Pharsalus, where there was a spring Hypereia, and since we might expect from Homer that Ormenion and Hypereia would be near to one another, we may conjecture Kturi to be the site of Ormenion. Now all the three sites we have mentioned are isolated limestone hills lying like islands in the plain, and also any two are easily visible from the

third. Consequently they would be the natural sites to occupy for any one who wished to dominate the western Thessalian plain.'

The same hill is described by Heuzey, l. c., p. 411 (who calls it Kartouri) as an 'îlot rocailleux qui se dresse brusquement au milieu même de la plaine, sur la rive gauche de l'Énipée près du grand bassin fermé par les sources vives de *Lambi*'.

Further, Strabo in a defective passage remarks ἡ δ' Ὑπέρεια κρήνη ἐν μέσῃ ἐστὶ τῇ Φεραίων πόλει . . . ἄτοπον τοίνυν [δοῦναι Εὐρύπυ]λῳ. He should have said ἄτοπον τὸν Εὐρύπυλον μεταβιβάσαι ἐς τὰς Φεράς. If the fountain at Velestino (which enjoyed some notoriety, Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 125; Pherecydes, fr. 55) required mention, it should have received it at the proper place. We have passed Pherae and Eumelus' kingdom, and it is too late for it here. To postulate two mentions of Pherae, one under its name and another disguised as its fountain, passes probability. Thessaly is abundantly supplied with water. Even the ancients mention many springs, e.g. one at Scotussa (Theopompus, fr. 84), a hot spring at Crannon, Pliny, *N. H.* xxxi. 20, both hot and cold at Pagasae, ib. 76, Strabo 436 (πολλαί τε καὶ δαψιλεῖς ῥέουσι). Leake, l. c., p. 435, offers three in the required district, 'possibly the source below Thomokó, or that near Ghynekókastro' [= Proerna, Georgiades, p. 213], 'or at Vrysiá'. The fountains of Fersala are abundant and pellucid, ib. i. 453. They reminded Dodwell (ii. 120) of that at Pherae. Euhydrium in the same district bears a suggestive name (Livy xlii. 54). Heuzey, l. c., p. 412, puts it on the left bank of the Enipeus, 'qui domine les belles sources d'*Elia*'.

Ὀρμένιον in the Pheraea comes near to being a ghost-town. Its existence rests on Demetrius Scepsius' interpretation of K 266:

τὴν ῥά ποτ' ἐξ Ἑλεῶνος Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο
ἐξέλετ' Αὐτόλυκος.

Demetrius explained the patronymic to mean son of Ormenus, in his turn oecist of Ormenion. But Amyntor cannot have had two homes, and his town is given as Ἑλεών. On the site of Eleon there were different opinions. Crates put it on Parnassus (but this is too near to Autolycus); others relied on the Boeotian Eleon, B 500, which seems more natural since Phoenix came thence to Phthia, I 447:

οἷον ὅτε πρῶτον λίπον Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα
φεύγων νείκεα πατρός Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο.

Apollodorus, ii. 155 (and in the extract which serves as hypothesis

to the Trachiniae), followed Demetrius (παρ' οὗ μεταφέρει τὰ πλείστα, Strabo 339) and made Amyntor king of Ormenion (ὄρχομενόν MS.). Diodorus, iv. 37, has a king Ormenius in 'Pelagiotis'. There is also a somewhat more substantial site: Armenion, τῶν περὶ τὴν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην μεταξύ Φερῶν καὶ Λαρίσης, Strabo 503, metropolis of Armenia: ib. 530 he gives Thessalian sources, οἱ περὶ Κυρσίλον τὸν Φαρσάλιον καὶ Μήδιον τὸν Λαρισαῖον, officers of Alexander (see also Justin, xlii. 12. 10; 3. 8). But, again, we cannot bring Eurypylus into the middle of the later Pelasgiotis.¹

Ormenion or Orminion has homonyms—the Elean promontory Ὀρμυνα ἢ Ὑρμυνα, Strabo 431 and Echephyllidas ap. Steph. in Ὑρμίνη: a mountain in Paphlagonia, Ὀρμένιον, near which Caucones lived, Ptol. v. 1. The lexica give a word ὄρμενος or ὄρμινος (with variant breathing) which means the wild asparagus, Latin *corruda*: e.g. Pollux vi. 54 ἀσφάραγος ὁ ἀκανθίας, ὄρμενος ἤμερος ἀσφάραγος· καὶ πᾶν τὸ ὑπερέξηθηκός, ὅπερ ἐκκεκαυληκὸς καλοῦσιν, ὄρμενον ὠνόμαζον, καὶ τὸ ὑτέρωρον γενέσθαι ἐξορμενίσαι. Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* xix. 151, xx. 110, xxvi. 94, and other authors in the lexica. If the place-name be derived from this (as Kardamyle, Marathon, Selinus) there may well have been more than one.

Though the localization of Eurypylus' kingdom is not affected, the fountain Hyperea requires more discussion owing to the line in Hector's speech to his wife, Z 456: he foresees her captivity, and says

καί κεν ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἐοῦσα πρὸς ἄλλης ἱστὸν ὑφαίνοις,
καί κεν ὕδωρ φορέοις Μεσσηίδος ἢ Ὑπερείης
πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένη.

What do we suppose Homer meant Hector to be thinking of? Of two definite wells? or of town-wells in general? And was he as it were prophesying? No one can say: but the fate of Andromache in literature was to be a captive at Pharsalus which was considered to be Phthia (*Little Iliad*, fr. xix, and in Euripides' play), as her own prophecy of the fate of Astyanax (Ω 735) was carried out by Neoptolemus. The Pharsalians, therefore, who considered that they inhabited Phthia were not so wrong in finding Μεσσηίς and Ὑπερεία in two springs near the ruined Ἑλλάς, sixty stades from Pharsalus (Strabo 432). They implied that the two names were too common to be the property of any single town. The Pelidae had nothing to

¹ So it seems to me. Mr. Arkwright, however, in a letter says 'Homer's Ὀρμένιον is, I think, certainly the later Ἀρμένιον between Pherae and Larissa, as Hirschfeld remarks in Pauly-Wissowa (s.v. Armenion)'.

do with Pherae : and at the best Pherae had only one well, not two.¹ The result of our determination to bring in Pherae is that we double the abundant water-supply of that town—since we can hardly suppose, though commentators have done so, that Hector meant ‘I see you drawing water at Pherae (Υπέρεια) or at Therapne (Μεσσηίς)’, indicating occultly towns through their respective wells. As if one said with one’s last breath, ‘my dear, when I am no longer here you will probably establish yourself at the Grands Célestins or Saint Anne’s Well’, intending Vichy or Malvern.

Either the Pharsalians were right or, as seems more likely to me, both terms are generic, ‘the high and the middle well’. In literature the pair recur in Valerius Flaccus, iv. 374 :

flevit Amymone flerunt Messeides² undae
flevit et effusis revocans Hyperia lacertis.

The subject is Io, the scene Argos, Amymone herself was an Argive well. Either then this pair of springs existed in Argos,³ or, as is evidently more likely, Flaccus used them—following his view of the Homeric passage—generically.

Derivatives from *ὑπερ-* are common. Υπέρεια was the old home of the Phaeacians, ζ 4 ; a place at Troezen, Paus. ii. 31. 8 ; its wine was Υπερείας, Aristotle, fr. 94, 95 ; Υπέρεια or Υπερησία was the old name of Aegina (Strabo 383 ; Paus. vii. 26. 2 ; Theon ap. Steph. in v.) ; to Υπερησίῃ Polyphides fled, ο 254 ; Υπέρα was a place, Athen. 31 B ; Υπερείας a town in Sicily (Steph. in v.). Μεσσηίς was a fountain at Therapne (Paus. iii. 20. 1), and its identity even here disputed.

In the case of water common nouns are frequently used as names. Hippocrene in Boeotia was not alone, there was another at Troezen (Paus. ii. 31. 9) ; at Corinth there were two fountains Pirene. We find eight Arethusas, if we believe Didymus on ν 408, and several are marked on our maps (one at Chalcis, Dicaearchus i. 27 ; one near Olynthus, Scymnus 635). There is one Κροννοί in Triphylia (p. 76), another, otherwise Διονυσούπολις, in Pontus, Enneacruni at Athens ; Κράνων was the name of two places, Κρήναι of a place in Amphiloehia, Thuc. iii. 103, Crenides preceded Philippi, and there was another in Asia Minor. Στάζουσα is a spring, Paus. ii. 7, and a

¹ Pliny iv. 8. 30 it is true has ‘Fons Messeis in Thessalia’ after Boebeis.

² The MSS. according to Kramer read *messenides* or *messonidaes*.

³ As one opinion held, schol. A on Z 457 Μεσσηίς καὶ Υπέρεια κρήναι Ἀργους.

Μισγαγκεία has passed before my eyes, but the reference is gone. The Hotwells, Whitwells, Caldwells, the Aygues, Eaux, Aix, -burns, -brunn-s, Obersee and Niederbronn, Dolceacqua and Acqua acetosa, will occur to any one. I wind up with another preposition and the Stoechades: *dictae propter ordinem quo sitae sunt: nomina singulis Prote Mese, tertia Hypaea*, Pliny, *N. H.* iii. 7. 9.

27. Argissa, Gyrton, Orthe, Elone, and white Oloosson send forty ships under Polypoetes, son of Pirithous, and Leonteus, son of Coroneus, son of Caeneus. No name is given to the people, but Polypoetes and Leonteus are called *Λαπίθαι*, M 128, their subjects M 181 and φ 297, Hesiod, *Scut.* 178. The dynasty which Polypoetes represented was the longest established in Thessaly, going back to Hypseus (Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 13 sqq.; Pherecydes, *F. H. G.* i. 72; Acesander, *ib.* iv. 285). Ixion was his great-grandson, Diod. iv. 69. 3; Ixion, his brother Phlegyas, and his son Pirithous, father of Polypoetes, enjoyed a celebrity equal to that of Tantalus and Sisyphus. In the generation before this the Centaurs had been cleared from Pelion and moved to the country of the *Αἰθίκες*, whose position is indicated by Strabo 327, Lycophron 800, Marsyas, fr. 6 (*F. H. G.* v), Leake iv. 277. The wars of the Lapiths and Centaurs occupy a conspicuous place in literature, and were sung by Melesander (Aelian, *V. H.* xi. 2).

Two of the places mentioned can be fixed. Gyrton is the historical Gyrton, and this, from the campaign of the Romans against Perseus in Livy xlii. 54 (Leake, *N. G.* iii. 381 sqq.), appears to have been on the left bank of the Peneus. Oloosson has perpetuated its name in Elassona,¹ high up under Olympus on the pass leading into Macedonia (Wace and Thompson, *B. S. A.* xvii. 193 sqq.).

Strabo's other identifications are (440) **Αργισσα* = Argura on the Peneus; **Ορθη* (*Φορθη*?) = the acropolis of Phalanna, near Tirnavo; Elone = Limone, destroyed in his day.² No places apparently are

¹ After passing as *Λύσσονος*, Procop. *de Aedif.* iv. 4 Haury, if the text is right. Procopius mentions another fortress, *Ἀλκῶν*. *Ἐλασσῶνα* (acc.) is found in Cantacuzenos i. 473. 21.

² Mr. Wace says: 'Between Kastri [opposite to Tirnavos on the southern side of the Europus (Xerias)] and Larissa, and about a hundred stades from Crannon, but on the north side of the Peneus, is the ancient site called Tatar Maghula. This is a prehistoric mound of the high type, and also the site of a Hellenic city. Leake long ago suggested that it was Gyrton, an identification that seems highly probable. Orthe also is probably the same as the classical Orthe which we know of from Livy and from its coins. But we have no exact idea as to its position. The principal reverse type of its coins is a horse springing out of a rock. A similar type on the coins of Pherae is taken as typifying the famous spring of Hypereia. Therefore, by an analogy, we should expect to find in the neighbourhood of Orthe a very prominent spring. About two hours east of Tirnavos in the plain, on the

mentioned south of the Peneus, but the allusion to Leonteus, whose dynasty was seated at Lacerea in the Dotian argos (see p. 122), perhaps Πέρρα, which Leake describes, shows that the Lapith country extended to meet Eumelus on the south.

We notice the absence of Larissa. Given the frequency of the name and its apparent meaning (as at Argos), it may have been the acropolis of Argura, Elone, or Orthe. Apollonius, *Arg.* i. 40, naturally gives Larissa to Polyphemus the Lapith. He also (57) places Coronus at Gyrtion.

The Lapithae, therefore, hold the mountains on the Macedonian frontier, the Larissa-Tirnavos area, the Dotian plain, and both banks of the Peneus between Eurypylus on the west and the Magnetes on the east. It is plain that with two fixed points like Oloosson and Gyrtion in their territory, the whole of the river historically known as Europos, in its two branches the Sarantoporos and the Xerias, belonged to them.

28. This section has even fewer points of identification. Guneus brought 22 ships from Cyphus¹: there followed him Enienes and Perrhaebi, who had their abode at wintry Dodona and inhabited the fields of Titaresius, that pours his water into the silver Peneus, but mingles not therewith but flows on the top like oil.

Cyphus is unknown. Lycophron uses it (897) but without illumination. Leake, *N. G.* iv. 275, says that the name Κύψυ exists in the Agrafta, and is identified by the natives with Κῶφος. The Enienes and Perrhaebi are wandering names and do not occur again in Homer. Titaresius is not found again as a river. Nor does Guneus recur: Apollodorus in his Catalogue (epit. 3. 14) gives him a father,

south side of the Meluna and about half an hour from the village of Karatsioli, a large spring called Mati gushes forth from the rock and forms at once a stream sufficient to work several mills. On a steep rocky hill by the side of Karatsioli are the ruins of a large Hellenic city, where excavations by the peasants have revealed a prehistoric settlement as well. This site may be conjectured to be Orthe. We should expect a city which struck coins to have been large, we should expect a prominent spring near, and we should also expect prehistoric remains. All these conditions are fulfilled by the Kastro of Karatsioli. It is true that some topographers would put Elone or Leimone here, but we know even less about Leimone. It struck no coins, and we have no indication as to where it was, except that it should be looked for somewhere in the Elassona-Tirnavos district. Therefore, since we have already three of Polypoetes' towns near Tirnavos, we might place Elone or Leimone somewhere in the upper valley of the Europos, perhaps near Maghula, where L. M. II vases have been found.'

¹ Euripides, *I. A.* 278, p¹⁵ (s. ii p. c.), and Hyginus 97 ('Cycnus' = Guneus) give him 12 ships instead of 22. This catena is curious. Granting that Hyginus used the *I. A.*, what bearing had either on the papyrus? Was the papyrus the Εὐπίπιδος?

Ὠκύτης, and (6. 15, 15 a) sends him to Libya on his nostos.¹ Some one of the same name (ii. 50) gave his daughter Laonome to Alcaeus, father of Amphitryon. The phenomenon of the two rivers is, as will be seen, doubtful. We are thrown back on Dodona. Dodona in Homer is in Epirus: Ulysses went up to it from Thesprotia (ξ 327, τ 296). The epithet *δυσχειμέρον* recurs in Achilles' prayer, Π 234: *τηλόθι ναίων* agrees better with Mt. Tomarus than with Scotussa, and the priests, *Σελλοί* or *Ἑλλοί*, at all events resemble Ellopia, and Carapanos' excavations (1878) established the site, though too superficial to afford evidence of heroic antiquity (see O. Kern in P-W in v.).

Thessalian antiquaries, however, Cineas and Suidas,² maintained that the original Dodona was near Scotussa (Strabo 327), and that the Thesprotian oracle came from Scotussa. They were followed by Mnaseas of Patara, fr. 20, and the commentators Philoxenus on ξ 32; Epaphroditus on Π 233.³ After my exposition (p. 111), I cannot deny that there may have been more than one Dodona in Greece, though the second makes singularly little appearance in history; but that there should have been two Dodonas, each with an oracle, passes possibility. Take the case of Delphi. The place-name *Δελφοί* belongs to a fairly large family, if we connect it with *Δελφοῦσα*, *Τελφῶσσα*, &c., and if a Pelponnesian antiquary told us there was a *Δελφοί* in Arcadia we should believe him. Not so, however, if the Arcadian *Δελφοί* were furnished with a Pythia, a Castalia, and the other apparatus of the Phocian village. Moreover a Dodona at Scotussa must have belonged to Eurypylus, Eumelus, or to the Lapithae. It is easy to see that the Thessalian geographers relied on the epithet *Πελασγικέ*, which they interpreted to mean their own Pelasgiotis; but Hesiod, who would be impartial, gives the *φηγός* (i.e. the oracle) to the Pelasgian Dodona, fr. 212, and puts it in *Ἑλλοπή*, fr. 134. 1.

Ulysses went up from Cichyrus. Guneus' district is remote, and Dodona appears an isolated post in a non-Greek country. But this was its position in history also, and if we apply the principle by which Mr. Maurice Thompson has explained the position of the

¹ The epigrammatist of the *Πέπλος* (Aristotle, fr. 596) drowns him.

² Cineas is a Thessalian name (Herod. v. 63; Ar. *Αθ. πολ.* 19): so is Suidas.

³ All from Stephanus' article *Δωδώνη*, which has come down unepitomized. (His MSS. make Mnaseas put the second Dodona in *Ἰταλία*, but the correction *Θετταλία* is probable.) Thrasybulus also and Acestodorus wrote on Dodona (schol. Π 283); according to the Leipzig scholiast ad l. it was *ἡ νῦν Βόνδιτσα*.

Aegean islands and of Thessaly itself in the Catalogue (p. 88), we may see in Guneus' kingdom the last extension of Mycenaean sovereignty to the north-west. The coast of Illyria plays a certain part in heroic legend: it was the place of exile of the Cadmeans (p. 42) and of the Peleus-dynasty. The importance of the oracle induced the Mycenaean to cross the pass of Pindus, over which in the contrary direction the Dorians were to descend.

The Enienes (or Aenianes) and Perrhaebi are found historically in very different positions, the Enienes in east Thessaly in the Dotian plain (Strabo 61, 442, h. Hom. Apoll. 217),¹ and at the source of the Spercheus (see p. 113), where the Dolopes had once been. The Perrhaebians occupied the Lapith country and lived there with the old inhabitants (Simonides, fr. 198, ap. Strab. 441 διὰ τὸ ἀναμιξέειν Σιμωνίδης Περραιβοὺς καὶ Λαπίθας καλεῖ τοὺς Πελασγίωτας ἅπαντας τοὺς τὰ ἑῴα κατέχοντας τὰ περὶ Γυρῶνα καὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ κτλ.), where we find them in Herodotus vii. 128, 173. They had driven before them the Πίερες, who in Herodotus' time were in Pangaeum (ib. 112). The first form of their name was apparently Παραναῖοι (see *B. S. A.* xviii. 181 sqq.). This settlement of theirs among the Lapiths caused great confusion in the minds of poets and historians, who thought they had always shared the Lapith country with Lapiths. This, and the apparent position of Guneus, moved Cineas and Suidas to put Dodona at Scotussa, between the Lapiths and Magnetes, and brought Strabo to the desperate plight in which we find him.

For the poet has further defined the position of the Enienes and Perrhaebi by putting them on the banks of the Titarius, 'which flows into the Peneus without mixing with it, but flows upon it like oil'. Of this Strabo says (441), ὅς ἐξ ὄρους Τιταρίου συμφυοῦς τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ ῥέων εἰς τὰ πλησίον τῶν Τεμπῶν χωρία τῆς Περραιβίας αὐτοῦ που τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται πρὸς τὸν Πηνειόν. τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ καθαρὸν ἐστὶν ὕδωρ, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Τιταρησίου λιπαρὸν ἐκ τίνος ὕλης. The only river which flows into the Peneus near Tempe (the smooth surface of which supported the identification) is that marked on our maps as Εὔρωπος, which consists of two branches, one coming from Doliche, the other from Ellassona (ample descriptions of both are given in Leake's five journeys, *Northern Greece*, vols. iii and iv. See also Γεωργιάδης, pp. 172, 181). With this river Strabo identifies the Titaresius (329 fr. 14, 441), and so Pliny iv. 31 quoting Homer:

¹ On Apollo's journey between Pieria and Iolcus.

This, according to my results, is out of the question. These mountains, as we have seen (p. 130), were in the hands of the Lapithae, and the plain also where the Europus falls into the Peneus. There is no room for a second proprietor. Moreover Guneus is at Dodona, and it seems difficult to bring him across two 'baronies' (that of the Asclepiadae and that of Eurypylos) to plant him among Lapiths and allow him to cut their communications.

Homer, however, has been pleased to mention a phenomenon visible at the meeting of the Titaresios, on which the Enienes and Perrhaebi lived, and the Peneus :

οἳ τ' ἀμφ' ἱμερτὸν Τιταρήσιον ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο,
ὅς ῥ' ἐς Πηνειὸν προίει καλλίρροον ὕδωρ,
οὐδ' ὄγε Πηνειῷ συμμίσγεται ἀργυροδίνη,
ἀλλὰ τέ μιν καθύπερθεν ἐπιρρέει ἡνύτ' ἔλαιον.

This in itself is fairly common: the earthy Rhône flows into the clear Lake of Geneva at Villeneuve and its deposit is visible for a long way. The Rhône and the Saône are separate for some time after their junction at Lyons, and the same is said to be the case at the meeting of the Rhine and the Moselle, and of the Aar and the Rhine.

Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, 1819, ii. 111, says: 'I particularly observed it at the united mouth of the Simois and Scamander, whose muddy course interrupts for a long way the clearness of the Hellespont. The same effect happens at the mouth of the Danube, in the Black Sea; and the red water of the Syrius, in Marocco, discolours the sea for two leagues from its mouth'. Now if this phenomenon were proved to occur, and only to occur, at the meeting of the Europos and the Peneus, we should have to admit a serious dislocation of the Catalogue in this section. The evidence, however, is not decisive. Leake did not see it. His nearest statement is vol. iv, 296: 'at present it is not easy to find an opportunity of witnessing the common phenomenon which Homer poetically likens to oil flowing on the surface of the water'; also, where he says 'the Titaresius has lost most of its water owing to canalization, and deserves its name of Xeraghi' (vol. iii. 334, 349, 358, 396). Hawkins in Walpole's *Memoirs* (below) does not mention it. Pouqueville (*Voyage de la Grèce*, ed. ii, 1816, vol. iii, p. 364) mentions the Titaresius, but has nothing about the phenomenon. Heuzey also,

neither in his *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, 1860, p. 23, nor in his *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*, 1876, p. 411 (*Appendix. Monuments de la Thessalie*), notices these occurrences where the Ellassonitiko, or river of Ellasson, falls into the Peneus (he thinks, however, the ravine of the Sarandoporos might be called Stygian). M. Georgiades has seen it (Θεσσαλία, ed. ii, 1894, p. 23): ὀλίγον δέ τι ἀνωτέρω τῆς μετὰ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ συμβολῆς ὁ Τιταρήσιος δέχεται εἰς τὴν ξηρὰν αὐτοῦ κοίτην τὰ ἀφθονα καὶ διαυγέστατα ὕδατα τοῦ πρὸς τὸν κατώτερον αὐτοῦ ῥοῦν παραλλήλως ῥέοντος Ὀμματίου ἢ Καραδερέ, καὶ οὕτω ἀντὶ ἰδίων φέρει τὰ ὕδατα ἐκείνου εἰς τὸν Πηνειόν· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἡ ἀνάμειξις τῶν διαυγῶν τοῦ Καραδερέ μετὰ τῶν θολῶν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ γίγνεται μικρὸν καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον, ὥστε ἐπὶ τινα ἔκτασιν διακρίνονται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ δύο ρεύματα. The only question is if the phenomenon occurs only once in the course of the Peneus, and given the frequency with which it occurs in other parts of the world, and the number of the affluents of the Peneus, there seems no good reason to suppose that it does. Dodwell, for instance (l. c., vol. ii. 111, 113), noticed two instances of it in Tempe itself,¹ and one would have expected the conditions to occur at almost every confluence of the mountain rivers on the north bank of the Peneus with that earthy river. I suggested the Murgani, the ancient Ion,² *J. H. S.*, l. c., 312. But there is a more remarkable phenomenon in the upper course of the Peneus, above Tricca, seen apparently only by Leake (*N. G.* i. 415, iv. 278), which agrees more closely with the requirements. He says in the former passage 'the zigzag road [from the ζυγός of Μεζόβος] continues . . . for another

¹ The adjective ἀργυρόδινος and its equivalent ἀργυροειδής clearly imply a thick earthy river. The epithet is given to the Achelous, Hes. *Theog.* 340, Dion. *Perieg.* 433, and this is now called the Aspropotamo; to the Euphrates, *Or. Sibyll.* xiii. 17; the Pyramus, ib. iv. 97, xiii. 133; the Simois-Xanthus, Φ 8, 130, Eur. *I. A.* 752. The Peneus is eminently of this kind. The travellers' terms are βορβορώδη καὶ ὑπέρυθρα ὕδατα (Georgiades, p. 27), 'light mud-colour' (Dodwell), 'blancheur laiteuse', Ponqueville, iii. 371 (in Tempe); Hawkins says (Walpole, *Memoirs*, 1818, i. 530) 'its water was at this time [May 1797] very muddy, but is said to be much clearer in the latter part of the summer, and Brown, who was at Larissa in September, says that Homer's epithet of ἀργυροδίη is very applicable to this river, which has a clear stream. On the other hand the Swedish traveller Biornsthäl, who visited Larissa twice in the spring of the year, says that the Peneus resembles the Tiber in its yellow colour'. Brown made the same mistake as Strabo. It is true that in certain passages of authors, if we exact literal truth, the epithet appears to mean 'clear', as 'silvery' would probably be taken to mean to-day; e. g. of Castalia, Euripides *Ion* 95, of a spring near Cyzicus, πέτρης ἀπὸ λισσῆς, Orph. *Arg.* 599. This perhaps explains Strabo's interpretation when he says (441) τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ καθαρὸν ἐστὶν ὕδωρ, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Τιταρησίου λιπαρὸν ἐκ τινος ὕλης. The other occurrences of the words are probably conventional.

² On which see Georgiades, p. 30.

hour, where we arrive . . . upon a part of the slope of the mountain where, in the bottom of a deep ravine to the right, flows the Salamvria . . . At 12 this river is joined by a branch from the northward, which rises at the γαλακτίτης λίθος or milkstone, a rock so called because there is a calcareous deposit at the fountain which has the reputation at Metzόvo and the other neighbouring villages of having the effect, when pounded and mixed with water, of promoting a woman's milk'. The stream proceeding from the milkstone must have been milky itself, or how could the nature of the stone have been known? The bits of stone were 'pounded and mixed with water' to produce the effect of the river in nature.¹

When a clear stream fell into this chalky river, the clear water for some time would flow on the top of the chalk in solution, as the earthy Rhône makes a fan of earth under the clear Lacus Lemannus.

It follows that the stream coming down from the γαλακτίτης λίθος was regarded by Homer as the proper Peneus ('although this is not so distant a source as that of the southern branch it was very probably the reputed origin of the Peneus, from being the most remarkable of its fountains', Leake, i. 415). A further consequence is that the branch which comes down from Ποῖον or Πόνα (Georgiades, p. 26) is the Titaresius; and this stream was on the line of the Enienes and Perrhaebi who crossed the pass from Dodona (ἀμφ' ἱμερτὸν Τιταρήσιον ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο).

This point in the Peneus' course seems a better place for the phenomenon which impressed Homer. The deep ravines at the head of the Peneus are more Stygian than the tobacco-irrigating Xerias. But we require a survey of the Peneus from its sources to its mouth.

It may be asked why Strabo pitched on the Europos for the modern equivalent of the Titaresios.² In the first place because Perrhaebia in his day was at this point. Further, he no doubt followed his sources: there is nothing to show that he had been in these parts himself, nor, indeed, that Demetrius or Apollodorus had. The Thessalian antiquaries, like the Megarean, were notoriously unscrupulous. The name of the mountain from which Strabo makes it flow, Τιτάριος, has no real existence, and may have

¹ The γαλακτίτης was well known in ancient medicine (Dioscor. v. 150, Orph. *Lith.* 201 sqq.). Pliny xxxvii. 10 ascribes it to the Nile and the Achelous.

² There was another Εὐρώπος, town or river, by Aeginium, in the Peneus-valley above Tricca (Strabo 327): this may have assisted Strabo's mistake.

been distorted from *Κιτάριος* to provide a source for *Τιταρήσιος* and to nail it to this province.

Ptolemy iii. 12. 16 Müller, under Macedonia, has ὁρέων δὲ τῶν ὀνομαστῶν

τοῦ μὲν Βερτίσκου τὸ μέσον ἐπέχει μοίρας	49° 10'	41° 15'
τοῦ δὲ Βερμίου ὄρους	48° 30'	39° 50'
τοῦ δὲ Κερκετησίου	46° 40'	39° 40'
τοῦ δὲ Κιταρίου ὄρους	48° 40'	39° 30'
τοῦ δὲ Ὀλύμπου ὄρους	50°	39° 20'
τῆς δὲ Ὀσσης ὄρους	50° 40'	39° 20'
τοῦ δὲ Πηλίου ὄρους	51° 10'	39° 20'
τῆς δὲ Ὀθρύος ὄρους	50°	38° 40'

Citarius and Bermius are marked in our maps to the north of the Haliacmon. In Strabo's text in two places, vii. fr. 14, 15 and c. 441, there is considerable MS. support for *κιτ-* instead of *τιτ-* (fr. 14 ^κ *τιταρήσιον*, ^κ *τιταρίον*, fr. 15 *κιταρίον*, 441 *κιταρίον*, *τιταρίον*, *τιτάρου*). Therefore *Κιτάριος* which may be akin to *Κιθαιρών*, mount *Κιθάριον*, *Δημήτηρ Κιθαρία* at Pheneus, Paus. viii. 15. 3 (see Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, xlii. 330 sqq.), seems the more substantial word of the two.

The other occurrences of place-names in *τιταρ-* in Thessaly do not assist us much. In the battle of the Lapithae and Centaurs, Hesiod, *Scut.* 181, we find a Lapith:

Μόψον τ' Ἀμπυκίδην Τιταρήσιον ὄζον Ἄρηος.

There is a place Mopsium or Mopselus near Sycurium and Nessonis (Strabo 443). *Τιταρήσιον* must be an adjective, but whether local or patronymic does not appear. The prophet of the Argonauts was Μόψος *Τιταρήσιος* (Ap. Rhod. i. 65). Lycophron 881 has Μόψον *Τιταρώνειον* (which his scholiast explains as grandson of *Τιτάρων*), he has also a town *Τίταρον* 904. Orpheus in his *Argonautica* 128:

καὶ Μόψον Τιταρῆθεν ὃν Ἀμπυκι νυμφευθεῖσα
Χαονίην ὑπὸ φηγὸν Ἀρηγονὶς ἐξελόχευσε

makes the epithet local and transports *Τιτάρα* to Dodona or its district. Still it flowed into the Peneus, and unless there is any ambiguity in the use of this last name,¹ *Τιτάρα* and the *Τιταρησός* must have been in Thessaly.

¹ The natives of Agrafa had a candidate in Leake's day (iv. 275): 'the Mardháka at Tatárna is the Titaresius flowing into the Peneius'. The Mardháka he calls (p. 270) 'a great subterraneous stream'.

Therefore failing exclusive proof that the Xerias and no other river flows unmixed upon the Peneus, we may locate Guneus' kingdom at Dodona, the pass of Metzovo, and the upper Peneus valleys west of Tricca.

The choice lies between the Homeric paragraph and the account of the antiquarians, who by superposing the Perrhaebi on the Lapiths connected Γουνεύς with Γόννος¹ and created a new Dodona. The Thessalian interest in such an adjustment is obvious. No one will suspect the distant Dodonaeans of altering the Catalogue.

As to the name of Guneus' river there can be no doubt that as Bentley (*J. Phil.* xiii. 141, 2) saw we should write it Τιταρησός (or -σσός). The frequency of the terminations -σός and -σσός in place-names is well known. Τιταρήσιος in Hesiod is an adjective, and when Lucan paraphrases Homer (vi. 376) he says :

defendit Titaessos aquas lapsusque superne
gurgite Penei pro siccis utitur arvis.

Even Vibius Sequester 152 has 'Titaessos qui et Orcus'. Cf. Seneca, *Troad.* 847.² The scribes altered -σός to -σιος to avoid the apparent lengthening of -σός before a vowel, as they wrote ἀέθλιον οὐ ἐτάριοιο for ἄεθλον Ψ 748, πτολιπόρθιον οἶκαδ' ι 530 for πτολίπορθον, παρέστασαν οἶνον ἄγουσαι for παρέσταν H 467. I prefer the digamma to Wernike's law, and am glad to add one more infraction to 522 Κηφισὸν δῶν ἔναιεν and 813 Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν. Lastly, Pliny iv. 31 has the extraordinary statement *hac labitur Penius viridis calculo*, etc., *accipit nomen Horcon*, *sed olei modo supernatantem*, etc.; Vibius, l. c., follows Pliny. *Horcon* is the first word of B 755. The *contre-sens* was detected by Heuzey, l. c., p. 63, n. 5.

29. The Magnetans, who lived about Pelion and Peneus, send forty ships under Prothoos, son of Tenthredon.³ The leader does not appear again in the poem. Apollodorus (ep. vi. 15 a) makes him drown off Caphereus on his return. He was considerably out of his course.

No towns are mentioned, and the district as we have seen was limited by Meliboea on the south. Hence, to account for a population corresponding to forty ships, we must suppose that the Magnetans

¹ If Γόννος existed in the heroic age it was a Lapith or a Magnetan town. The name is found elsewhere: Γονέσσα in Achaea, B 573. Stephanus in Γόννοι identified Gonnus and Gounesus.

² These passages are quoted by Bentley.

³ As a common noun *τενθρηδών* means 'wasp'. A frequent *v. l.* is *τερθρηδών*.

extended some way inland, and probably possessed Tempe. They come last, possibly, because Ossa was the last conquest : the dislodging of the Centaurs from Pelion was thought worthy of a mention in the Catalogue (744) : it took place a generation ago.

The dynasty is unknown.

This is the Homeric Thessaly. The nine districts are strung, as it were, on two chords, the coast from the Spercheus to Meliboea and the Peneus from its source and even beyond to Pelion. The interior is vague—to the north of Pherae, the west of Trachis, south of Tricca, Titanus, and the Lapith towns, west of Phthia (itself vague). Generally speaking central and south-west Thessaly is unmapped. None of the southern affluents of the Peneus are mentioned. The account seems a periplus continued by the Peneus. The districts are intelligible ; Tricca, &c., corresponds to the historical Histiaeotis less the upper Peneus-valley ; Eurypylus' domain seems equivalent to Thessaliotis ; that of the Lapithae to Pelasgiotis less the Pheraea ; that of the Magnetes is northern Magnesia, for southern Magnesia with Pelion and Sepias belongs to Philoctetes : Protesilaus' country is a Phthiotis rather less than the historical. The Homeric provinces though vague are not much vaguer than the historical ; Phthiotis, Thessaliotis, and Pelasgiotis had very undefined frontiers. Homer makes separate cantons out of Malis, Sepias, the upper Peneus, and Pheraea. If any one thinks that these were intentional creations under pressure from the respective peoples, or in obedience to a principle of decentralization or what not, he is welcome to the conclusion.

The scarcity of towns, and the absence of correspondence between such as are mentioned and the historical towns, is more remarkable than the vagueness of a number of the districts : I give a list of them, with such equivalents as are known :

Alus	
Alope	Alope
Trechis	Trachis
Phylace	Phylace
Pyrasus	Pyrasus
Iton	?
Antron	Antron(es)
Pteleos	Pteleos
Pherae	Pherae
Glaphyrae	

Ialcos	Iolcos
Methone	Methone
Thaumacia	
Meliboea	Meliboea
Olizon	Olizon
Tricca	Tricca
Ithome	
Oechalia	
Ormenion	
Gyrton	Gyrton
Orthe	
Elone	
Oloosson	Oloosson
24 Dodona	Dodona

Out of twenty-four, fifteen remained in history. None of them except Pherae and Trachis were important historical towns. The well-known Thessalian cities (Larissa, Crannon, Pharsalus, Gomphi, Metropolis, Phalanna, Pharcadon, Cierium) are notoriously absent: Crannon tried to establish itself under the guise of Ἐφύροι, Ν 301. The arrangement, therefore, was in no one's interest, from the Dorian down to the Macedonian invasion. We are left to suppose that it was the knowledge of Thessaly current at the time when the Catalogue was made. There is an apparent coincidence between this conclusion and the result of the excavations of Tsountas, Wace, and Thompson, which suggest that the Mycenaean conquest of Thessaly was short-lived. It is remarkable that we appear to have three series of inhabited sites: (a) the prehistorical maghoulas, (b) the Homeric, (c) the post-Dorian sites; the latter two sometimes, but seldom, correspond. The maghoulas bear no relation to later geography. The contrast between Thessaly and Peloponnesus—where most sites were continuous, and the disappearance of Pylos and Arene an exception—is remarkable.

Mr. Wace allows me to quote his views on this subject: 'a review of the Homeric geography of Thessaly impresses us with a great sense of its reality. It describes a division of the land never reproduced in later times. Homer knows nothing of the Thessali, or of the important cities famous in historical times, such as Larissa, Crannon, Pharsalus, Pelinnaeum, or Scotussa. The only city of first-rate importance in later times that he mentions is Pherae. This is in strong contrast to southern Greece, where most of the important

cities find a place in the Catalogue, with the exception of Megara, and second-class cities such as Phlius. But what is most important is that the Homeric account of Thessaly is possible when the geographical considerations are admitted. The baronies are the natural divisions of the country. Achilles has the Spercheus valley, Protesilaus the west side of the entrance to the gulf of Pagasae with the Crocian plain, Eumelus the head of the gulf with its best port and the main line of communication with the interior, and Philoctetes the Magnesian peninsula. Inland the sons of Asclepios and Eurypylos divide the western plain between them, Polypoetes holds the Elassona-Tirnavos district and guards the passes from the north, Prothoos is lord of Ossa, and Gouneus, if Mr. Allen is right, is master of the north-western hills. This is a perfectly sane and intelligible division of Thessaly . . . The Homeric baronies cover, with two or three exceptions, the same area as the prehistoric settlements, especially those mounds of the high type, three of the largest of which are at Pherae, Iolkos, and Gyrton. It is only in the west by Tricca and in the north by Elassona (to leave out for the present the barony of Gouneus) that the Homeric area extends beyond it. On the other hand the Homeric baronies have no relation to the historical divisions of Thessaly. Therefore we see that the Homeric age in Thessaly apparently coincides to some extent with the last occupation of the high mounds, though by then, since the area of habitation was enlarged, other sites were beginning to be occupied for the first time. As the Homeric sites do not correspond with the historic, so also the prehistoric settlements, especially the high mounds, in very few cases were converted into Hellenic city sites. In some cases, as at Proerna and Cierium, the Hellenic site is on the top of the hill while the prehistoric mound is at its foot. But in general when the prehistoric mounds were finally abandoned there was a movement of population from sites in the plain to hills which a little fortification would turn into a defensible kastro, e.g. Aliphaka (Phacium) and Thaumaci. Still there must have been a period of transition, and it is just in that time that the Homeric geography seems to fit, when some of the earliest walled sites, Antron, Phylake, Tsiatma, and Kturi were fortified.'

The classical historians and geographers, as we have several times seen, mixed up the Mycenaean state of things, represented to them by Homer, and the Dorian or actual Thessaly, and produced the sham heraldic tableau which still goes as history.

They endeavoured to appropriate the more distinguished personages or places, and by assuming the correctness of the actual places and races for the heroic age, produced a false picture of the past. Many of these opinions are preserved in Strabo, who was fairly puzzled by them. The Aleuadae wished to claim Achilles: so the Pelasgicon argos, assisted by the name Πελασγιῶτις, became a town near Larissa, or the plain of Thessaly in general. Hieronymus (Strabo 443 = fr. 11, *F. H. G.* ii. 455) held that ἡ πεδιάς Θετταλία and Magnetis were inhabited by Pelasgi, and uses Πελασγικὸν πεδῖον as equivalent to Pelasgicon argos. Phthia and Hellas, as we have seen, were claimed by the Creondae at Pharsalus and by Melitaea. Gyrtion equated itself with the Phlegyae, Crannon with the Ἐφυροί (Strabo 442). And as we have also seen the position of the Magnetes made difficulties in understanding Homer's account, as that of the Perrhaebians and Enienes disagreed with the Catalogue. Simonides, fr. 178, gave the name of Πελασγιῶται to Perrhaebians and Lapiths jointly. Pelasgic argos meant Thessaly at large, as Ἀχαικὸν ἄργος the Peloponnese. This was Ephorus' view (Strabo 221). There are, therefore, two real maps of Thessaly, the heroic and the historical. The inhabitants of the historical Thessaly, in their endeavour to appropriate the heroic past, produced a third Thessaly, imaginary and heraldic. This was their forgery. That they did not forge the Catalogue is obvious—they fought against it. I repeat, forgery is undertaken in self-interest. If the Larissaeans or Pharsalians had made the Thessalian Catalogue they would not have put Achilles at Trachis. That they left him there shows that when they came to consider their past they found the Catalogue intangible.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

WE may now sum up the results of the preceding discussion, so far as the Greek Catalogue is concerned. There are twenty-nine entries in all. Of these, fourteen, Orchomenus, Phocis, Locris, Euboea, Athens, Lacedaemon, Arcadia, Elis, Aetolia, Crete, Rhodes, Syme, Cos (Crapathos, &c.), Achaea Phthiotis, correspond to later history, that is their boundaries are not materially less nor greater. Thirteen, Salamis, Mycenae (Corinth, &c.), Pylos, Dulichium, the Cephallenian islands, Pelasgic Argos, and the seven Thessalian *δυναστεῖαι*, are unlike later history, but are not in the interest of any subsequent people or political system, and therefore cannot be thought invention. Two, Boeotia and Argos, are unlike later conditions in certain respects (the name only in the case of Boeotia, the subject towns in the case of Argos), and it might be argued that the difference in either case was in the interest of the later inhabitants.

This result shows the historical truth of the Catalogue; and when we find only two possible exceptions out of twenty-nine, the probability of those exceptions being exceptions is much weakened. The law of probabilities enables us to turn round and say that a document which in twenty-seven cases out of twenty-nine is correct is correct in the other two cases, and since it withstood the attack of interested parties in twenty-seven instances it withstood them in the other two, and therefore the *Βοιωτοί* were in Boeotia in the heroic age, and the kingdom of Argos included Epidaurus, Troezen, and Aegina.

The sincerity of the Catalogue is very manifest. When we consider the way in which such a traditional document would have been altered, if it had been altered—that is to say in the direction of the admission of later interests, and an historical document cannot be altered in any other way—we see that none of the manifest later interests are admitted. There are no Olympian or Pythian games, no mythological stories of the Delphic temple, no colonies, Ionian, Cyrenean or Italian, no Miletus, Ephesus, Smyrna, Chios, Lesbos or Samos; Corinth is part of the Mycenaean kingdom, Sparta is dependent on Mycenae, Messenia does not exist, Arcadia

and Elis are shorn of their historical extension ; the Cyclades are blank ; the colonial extensions which later poets and logographers attached to the Nostoi of the Heroes equally do not exist ; there is no hint of the dominating states of historical Greece, nor of the settlements in Macedonia, Thrace, or Egypt. Neither Athens nor Macedon benefit by any prophesy. If an historical document of this kind—giving a state of Greece at the moment of its one international undertaking—had been expugnable, these are the points at which it would have yielded. As it did not do so where the pressure must have been strongest, we may assume that in the two possible cases its account, and not the account of the logographers, is the true one.

For if, as I have said, forgery in the case of historical documents, such as the Battle Abbey roll, takes place in the interest of the forger and his friends, whose interest, of the actual historical Greek states, was forwarded by the Catalogue? Athens may be dismissed at once: Athens exists, but she is not the eye or the bulwark of Greece nor the metropolis of Ionia, she is not as obscure as Florentia, the ancestor of Firenze, but she is as unimportant as Locris. Sparta exists, but though connected with the dominant power, is subordinate to Mycenae, of moderate extent, and could devise no title either to Messene or Arcadia and Cynuria from Homer. Boeotia exists, but without a claim to Orchomenus—and Thebes, which represented the Boeotian claim to Hellenic distinction, barely exists, and at best as only one of many townships. Corinth and Sicyon are subject to Mycenae. Argos only has an extension which she did not possess in ordinary historical times. We may say, therefore, that neither the situation nor the claims of the historical Greek powers were subserved by the Catalogue, and therefore the motive for its forgery fails.

Mr. Leaf evades the dilemma by propounding a genesis of the Catalogue based on a theory of Eduard Meyer (*Gesch. des Altertums*, ii, p. 188), which he has generalized in a way no one had ever thought of. He thinks (p. 136) that the Cataloguer . . . 'is intent upon breaking up the old Achæan kingdoms into small cantons. These he assigns partly to the minor heroes of the Trojan legend, partly to descendants of another and older tradition which had nothing to do with Troy'. Among the latter are the Lapiths and Eumelus. P. 232, 'the Cataloguer intent upon his work of dismemberment'; 'the domain of Agamemnon, his very home

[Mr. Leaf means Argos] is rent in pieces and given to others'. Cf. also p. 246 and p. 311 sqq. This is a singular theory and supported by singular evidence.

As we have seen, the historical facts of post-Dorian Greece are not represented in the Catalogue. There are no Dorians in Argos, in Sparta, in Megara, or in Thessaly. There are no Ionians, except a bye-name for the Athenians; no colonies east or west, except some of the Sporades. On the other hand the traditions of some countries, which we find in post-Homeric literature, are not represented in the Catalogue, and in some cases the Catalogue is irreconcilable with them. The latter is the case with Corinth; the former we have in the instances of the Thesidae and the Labdacidae. If, then, the Catalogue is not true and does not reproduce the real state of Greece at the time of the Trojan war, its author was an abstract speculator, who invented fiction in the interest of no one in particular. This is a difficult conception to ask us to accept. Let us consider who he may have been. Mr. Leaf calls him a poet. A logographer-poet I presume, some one who was an historian all but for the prose. Eumelus in short. Eumelus would never have subjected Corinth and Sicyon to Agamemnon, and as a member of the ruling family of Corinth at the moment of its colonizing period would have had no prepossession in favour of cantons and communes. Or was he a Hesiodean? an author of *'Hoîai*? Well, the Boeotia which he inserted in the Catalogue is no canton: it is a very large country covered with small towns, and if Thebes is under a cloud there is no sign of Plataea or Chaeronea breaking off. Or Mr. Leaf may say that his 'Boeotian poet' was earlier. But were there earlier Boeotian poets? The Boeotian school only admitted their founder Hesiod, and the *Works and Days* says nothing about small states. It knows that Agamemnon sailed from Aulis, however. In Homer's picture there are no Boeotian poets, no Thespian school, and no Muses on Helicon. The only station of Muses is at Dorion in Messenia. Mr. Leaf has called a phantom from the deep and invested him with an impossible task.

And let us see how he goes his wonders to perform. Now this way, now that. He cuts up Phthia into three or four parts, but he unites the later Achaea, that is Sicyon, Corinth, the Achaeian coast, and Mycenae under one king, adds to this kingdom Arcadia, Sparta, and Messenia by looser but real ties, and gives its monarch a suzerainty over the whole continent and islands. He collects the

scattered villages and lagoon-ports between the Alpheus and Coryphasium into another great kingdom never afterwards seen; he increases Adrastus' realm of Argos by Epidaurus, Troezen, and even Aegina; he unites two large islands under the king of a small one, Ithaca. Homer is in fact the only authority for the existence of 'old Achaean monarchies' at all. These things he does in prosecution of the canton-cause.

And where does Homer show his hand, where does he hoist his signals, speaking to the understanding? Obscurer than a Bacon and as truly, in the line which in 1900 Mr. Leaf considered to be 'tactical counsel, military advice', which suggested to him the political organization of Athens in the time of Pisistratus, Nestor's advice to Agamemnon (B 362, 3):

*κρῖν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας Ἀγάμεμνον,
ὥς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγη, φύλα δὲ φύλοις.*

This is what Nestor said, but we know that Homer meant to proclaim his intention thereby of breaking up the systematized heroic monarchies round their Emperor, and of giving small states a share which they had not earned in the Trojan war. This was his intention so announced, but even that he did not carry out; but for him Corinth had sailed under its own flag to Troy.

We have discussed the passage, pp. 33, 35. Here I may repeat that the corresponding advice given to Hector by Polites:

*τοῖσιν ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ σημαίνεται οἷσί περ ἄρχει,
τῶν δ' ἐξηγείσθω κοσμησάμενος πολίτας*

does not admit of a Sibylline exegesis, and shows that Mr. Leaf's earlier view of Nestor's policy, which he now calls foolishness, was right. I may add that of the words used, *φῦλον* and *φυλή* connote in general use any body of men, from an *ἔθνος* downwards, *φυλή* however politically connotes a body less than a state, and *φρήτρη* is not much above a family or parish. In the accurate sense of the word even a small polis, Sicyon or the Locri Ozolae, would be denoted by *φυλή*.

Moreover, apart from the impossibility of interpreting the passage to make it mean something which the Cataloguer does not do, where is the evidence for the few concentrated kingdoms of which the heroic Greece consisted? Mr. Leaf gets this—for there is no other evidence—out of the position of Agamemnon. He finds him the centre of a series of well-organized dependant kingdoms. This again

is an inference from Homer, and I hope to have shown (p. 71) that the poems as a whole do not support it. Extra-Homeric evidence for it there is of course none. All legends made the Pelopidae shortlived. The Corinthian logographers ignored them altogether.

If, then, Agamemnon is not an absolute monarch; if the Catalogue gives us three kingdoms which never recurred in Greek history; if Phthia is a mere geographical name, like Thessaly in later days; and if the Catalogue notoriously omits a number of small historical Greek states—Megara, the Amphissean Locrians, Messenia—, and subjects many afterwards independent communities to one or another monarchy—Aegina, Troezen, Epidaurus, Corinth, Sicyon, the other towns of 'Achaëa' and all the towns of Triphylia—the idea that the Catalogue redressed the centralization of the Trojan-War period by restoring the smaller communities which under Agamemnon's empire had been absorbed into larger unities, appears, I will not say 'foolishness', but a remarkable error and a desperate resort to support a theory.

CHAPTER VII

NATIONS ROUND IDA

THE Trojan Catalogue is scanty and obscure, but less controversial than the Greek. The question *cui bono?* need not often be put. Mr. Leaf's exploration of the Troad has induced him to regard the Trojan Catalogue with favour, and his conclusions together with those of my article have been accepted in general by M. Sartiaux.

The document appears to present the knowledge of Asia—topography and inhabitants—possessed by the Greeks at the time of the Trojan war, before the Ionic migration. Otherwise vested interests, heraldic pasts of the towns, and the colonization-sagas, which were so abundantly ascribed to the Nostoi, would surely have fattened it out. The Cypria Catalogue probably admitted these claims. The knowledge of Asia shown in the body of the poem is greater¹ (and may fairly be ascribed to the Chian Homer), but except in one place has not made its way into the Catalogue. Homer, as Strabo says 581, *εἰκάζειν περὶ τῶν πλείστων παρέχει*. Like the Greek Catalogue, this must be regarded as the oldest part of the poems.

No contingents are given. The Greek forces are reckoned in ships, but with the Trojans this method was not available (Iphidamas came on twelve, A 228), and Agamemnon had no basis for a calculation. Few places also are mentioned. Strabo 554 notices that while Homer mentions the Lycians, Solymi, Paphlagonians, Phrygians, Mysians, and Amazons, he says nothing of the Milyae, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Thyni, Bithyni, Bebryces, Leucosyri, Syri, Cappadocians, or Lycaones. There is also no hint of the great nations of Asia; as Strabo says, 735, Homer knew neither the Syrian nor the Medic kingdom, else he would have mentioned Babylon, Ninus, and Ecbatana. Sites in the Troad are given, but as I

¹ e. g. the rivers of Maeonia T 385, Niobe on Sipylus Ω 615, the Chimaera Z 179, Π 328 (a volcano according to Ctesias ap. Plin. ii. 236), the volcano *εἰν Ἀρίμοις* B 783, the Asian meadow B 401, small towns on the south of the Aeolic peninsula (Thebe, Lyrnessos, Pedasos) B 689, Π 153, T 60, T 92, 191, Leleges and Caucones K 429, Φ 86. Some of these allusions occur in similes, a species of literature exempt from time.

remarked (*J. H. S.* xxx. 319) there is no hint of a sea beyond the Hellespont, that is to say of a Bosphorus, Symplegades, or Euxine. Since Milesian activity was so great in this direction, the failure to amplify Homer is remarkable.

The Trojan forces are arranged in four groups: (i) the Trojans and neighbouring peoples; (ii) the European allies; (iii) Asiatic allies east of the Troad; (iv) Asiatic allies south of the Troad. The reason for this arrangement has been studied of late. Mr. Leaf thinks the divisions of allies represent as many trade-routes which converged on Troy. Mr. Arkwright informs me that he prefers to explain the arrangement of 'allies in four lines radiating outwards as corresponding to the four winds' (the four in ϵ 295, 6). He says 'the four lines cannot be four trade-routes, because no route from Lycia (which is almost inaccessible by land) could possibly pass through Sardis. Sardis itself is on a east and west road, not north and south'. 'The last two radii agree well. Eurys blows from Mysia and Phrygia, and Notus up the coast of Asia. Also the first; the Thracian coast was supposed west, since Zephyrus blows from Thrace, I 5. The second radius begins with a long gap. Why? (a) Evidently it went across the sea to the Bosphorus. Otherwise, why not through Mysia and Phrygia? and why are they on a later different radius? (b) Neither Phrygians nor Mysians were on the Bosphorus. Otherwise, why are they not named here instead of later? Paphlagonia must have reached the straits. The Mariandyni were Paphlagonians (Strabo 345; Theopompus, fr. 201). Though in Strabo's time (542) they were indistinguishable from the surrounding Bithynians, in Herodotus they are distinct and equipped like the Paphlagonians with whom they are brigaded (vii. 72), quite unlike the Thracians who formed a different contingent (ib. 75). Mariandynus left the part of Paphlagonia called after him (i.e. the region of Heraclea) and conquered the land of the Bebryces (i.e. the later Bithynia as far as the Bosphorus, Ap. Rhod., &c., and even as [lesser] Mysia Strabo 542; Dion. Perieg. 805; Eust., &c.; Theopomp. fr. 201). Heracles conquered the Bebryces (or Phrygians and Mysians, Ap. Rhod. ii. 786) and gave their country to the Mariandyni (Apoll. *bibl.* ii. 5. 5; *F. H. G.* ii, p. 32. 15).'

'Mariandynus was the son of Phineus (Hesiod, fr. 79), who was King of Paphlagonia (Hellanicus, fr. 38; Scymnus, 958, &c.), and also of Bithynia as far as the Bosphorus (Pherecydes, fr. 68), where he appears in most versions of the Argonaut-story. Paphlagon was

his real son, Thynus and Bithynus by adoption (Arrian, fr. 41). The Phineus-legend clashes with the Bebryces-story, and is probably older and different in origin. Probably he was a Paphlagonian and ruling on the Bosphorus in Hesiod.

'If Paphlagonia reached the Bosphorus, then to Greek ideas it lay in the direction of Boreas, since throughout antiquity, even down to Ptolemy, it was taken as an established fact that the Bosphorus was due north of the Hellespont (see Eratosthenes in Strabo 62, 71, 93, and cf. 655).'

1. The Trojans under Hector. No details, topographical or genealogical. The site of Troy is now known, thanks to the excavations of Schliemann and Dörpfeld. I may refer the reader to the accounts of Dussaud (especially for the culture), Leaf, and Sartiaux. The body of the poem contains more information, both about Troy itself and the rivers and other natural features of the Troad. For this reference should be made to Mr. Leaf's 'Troy' and his articles on the subject (*B. S. A.* and *J. H. S.*). He has been successful in reconciling the literature with the natural features.

2. The Dardanians under Aeneas and two sons of Antenor. Genealogy of Aeneas, but no topographical details. Two incidents in the career of Achilles supply details of this region and have helped Mr. Leaf to a plausible localization. The first is the episode A 366: Thebe, the town of Eetion, was taken and with it Chryseis; further (Z 394 sqq.), Thebe Hypoplacie¹ was the home of Andromache, daughter of Eetion; the inhabitants were called Κίλικες, and Achilles took a horse from here, II 152. Briseis (B 689 sqq., T 295 sqq.) came from Lyrnessos, which Achilles sacked at the same time that he took Thebes.

The Aeneas-episode occurs Y 89 sqq., where Aeneas admits that Achilles chased him from Ida 'when he came after our cattle', and sacked Lyrnessos and Pedasos. The Leleges and Trojans are mentioned as the inhabitants.

The event is mentioned in the poem because it occurred in the brief career of the hero. There were many other raids, and

¹ A village six stadia from the site preserved the name Πλακοῦς, Dem. Sceph., ἐν ἱβ' τρωικοῦ διακόσμου, ap. Ath. 644 A. It is unnecessary to do more than refer to the view which made this place a ghost-name. Sappho, who ought to have known, says

Θήβας ἐξ ἱάρας Πλακίας τ' ἀπ' ἀ[ι]ν[υ]άφ
ἀβραν Ἀνδρομάχαν ἐνὶ ναῦσιν ἐπ' ἄλμυρον
πόντον

Ox. pap. 1232, col. ii. 6.

M. Sartiaux (p. 200) has put them in their proper light when he describes the Greek strategy as a 'guerre d'usure'. The Epigoni did the same thing against Thebes: Apollod. iii. 8. 3 *πρῶτον μὲν πορθοῦσι τὰς πέριξ κώμας*. Nestor, γ 105, 6, describes oversea raids (*ἡμὲν ὅσα ξὺν νηυσὶν ἐπ' ἡεροειδέα πόντον | πλαζόμενοι κατὰ ληίδ'*) as one of the two military operations of the Trojan war: the other was the attack on the town. The *Cypria* ascribes such undertakings to the Greeks generally: terms were offered to the Trojans, *ὥς δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν ἐκείνοι ἐνταῦθα δὴ τειχομαχοῦσιν*. *ἔπειτα τὴν χώραν ἐπέελεθόντες πορθοῦσι καὶ τὰς περιόικους πόλεις* (epit. Procl.). Dictys ascribes the devastation of the Chersonesus to Ajax (ii. 18); the same hero (27) took Pitya and Zelea, Gargarus, Arisba, Gergithae, Scepsis, and Larissa, and much cattle on Ida. During the winter (41) he repeated these operations in Phrygia.

It is hard to say if this blank mention of the Trojans and the Dardani is to be taken to represent the actual knowledge of the Troad in Greece at the time of the war. It would be natural to assume a greater knowledge of a country with which they were going to war, with which they had once already made war, and with which they traded, especially considering the knowledge of the Hellespont shown in the next sections. Still, for all we know, the Trojan power may have prevented access to the peninsula and have concealed the situation of its towns. In fact, the details of the Trojan Catalogue are nearly all maritime, and suggest a portulan. We must also allow weight to the curious story in the *Cypria* and elsewhere that the Greeks attacked Telephus at Teuthrania in mistake for Troy, a reason unlikely to be invented by a later writer. The topography in the body of the poem, after all quite slight, may conceivably have come to light during the war. The war made the watercourses celebrated, and we find them alongside of Nile and Phasis as early as the *Works and Days*. But it was no one's interest to invent them, and the first colonizers notoriously settled well south of the Troad, and they and their poets had no private reason for glorifying Trojan and Dardanian hamlets.

I here insert Mr. Arkwright's views on the 'Selection of places named'. He says: 'the list of allies does not seem to name all the places known to the poet in each country, or even the chief places in different parts of the various countries, but either one place or a cluster of places close together, with wide gaps: e.g. four places close to Miletus, two to Sardis, but no others between the Troad'

and Lycia. But if Tmolus and the Gygaean lake were known, the coast must have been known also.

'All the districts selected contained the later capital or largest town: Pella, Amastris (??), Sardis, Miletus, Xanthus (Ascania ?? = Nicaea, and Alybe are uncertain). Therefore they probably contained the residence of the king, or the settlement of the ruling tribe. There is consequently no indication of boundaries; the country may have stretched far on each side of the locality named.

'Probably Emathia and Pieria were included in Paeonia. It once extended as far as Pelagonia and Pieria (Strabo 38), and the ancestors of the Paeonians—Teucrians and Mysians—reached the Peneus (Herod. vii. 20).'

3. Trojans under Pandarus at Zelea beneath the last foot of Ida, Aphneoi, drinking the black water of the Aesepus.

These people are well defined,¹ and are the most easterly of the Idaean tribes. The Aesepus runs into the Sea of Marmara east of Granicus and west of the later Cyzicus. It is singular that the writer, after the Trojans and Dardani, should go to the eastern extreme of the country and thence retrace his steps westwards. His order within the region is roughly concentric: S., NE., W., S. It is at Zelea also that his knowledge stops. So far eastward he has a string of coast-towns, after the Aesepus all is vague.

The variant *ανδειριοιο* for *Αἰσθήπιοιο*, which appears to be given in the *Oxyrhynchus papyrus*, no. 1086 (vol. viii, 1911), is obscure in its bearing. This river is mentioned only by Strabo 602, who makes it a tributary of the Scamander: *συμπίπτει δ' εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄνδιρος* (v. ll. *ἄνδειρος, ἄνδηρος*) *ἀπὸ τῆς Καρησιηνῆς, ὀρεινῆς τινος πολλαῖς κώμαις συνοικουμένης καὶ γεωργουμένης καλῶς, παρακειμένης τῇ Δαρδανικῇ μέχρι τῶν περὶ Ζέλειαν καὶ Πιτύειαν τόπων*. This statement, which doubtless comes from Demetrius of Scepsis, makes the Ἄνδιρος flow southwards from the Caresena,² and this is borne out by the position of Ἄνδριπα (with which the river is presumably connected), which Strabo (610, 614) places near Scepsis, Pioniae, and Gargaris. This direction cannot be reconciled with the position of Zelea, and therefore the motive for the alteration is not plain. If the Andirus were the Caresos (or mistaken for it), which according to Strabo

¹ The country is called *Λυκία*, E 105, 173: see Leaf on the former passage. There are at least ten rivers called *Λύκος* in various parts of Asia according to Smith's *Dict. Geogr.* Is *Αἰσθηπος* the same word as *Αἰσωπός*?

² As it is marked in Philippson's map in *Petermann's Mitt.*, *Ergänzungsheft* no. 167 (1910).

(603) flows into the Aesepus, the variant might be tolerable; the identifications of rivers hereabouts seem uncertain (see the quotation from Demetrius at the end of 602). Stephanus' article *Ἀνδείρα* seems to open a loophole when he gives two towns of the name, one in the Troad and one in Phrygia. It is, however, a matter for the autopes, and it is a pity the variant was published apparently too late for Mr. Leaf's judgement.

If we look for the author of the alteration Callisthenes presents himself, for these watercourses had but two interests for a Greek public, Homer and Alexander.

Strabo (586) gives these Trojans a second name, by taking *ἄφνειοί* in v. 825 as a proper noun connected with the lake *Ἀφνίτις* in the neighbourhood; but further to the east. With Strabo we note the absence of Priapus, Lampsacus, and Cyzicus. No subsequent pressure got them into this Catalogue.

4. Inhabitants of Adrestia, Apaesus, Pityia, and Mt. Teria under Adrestus and Amphios.

The Cataloguer having gone to the extreme of the Trojan realm and of his own detailed knowledge with Zelea, now comes back to Troy. In this and the following sections all the places named are on the coast, some apparently have to do with a portulan or periplus, giving villages and river-mouths as far as the Aesepus. The cessation of knowledge at this point cannot be accidental, and shows that exploration, that is commerce in some form, had extended thus far before the Trojan war. The Argo in her first state had penetrated to this point.

For the situation of all the places named reference must be made to Mr. Leaf. The father of the two chiefs, Merops (an Aegean name)¹ was of Percote, a town in the next section. Had he left his home under a *μῦθος*, like Phoenix and Patroclus and Medon? The sons met the fate portended here *Λ* 329.

5. Inhabitants of Percote, Practius, Sestos, Abydos, and Arisbe upon the Selleis under Asius, son of Hyrtacus.² Phaenops, son or relation of Asius, appears as a wraith to Hector, P 582 sqq. (*Ἀβυδόθι οἰκία ναίων*). Abydos was the capital, and it is not surprising to find Sestos in the same hands. The peraea-system is constant in ancient politics, and if as we are told Troy controlled traffic on the Hellespont,

¹ *Σέλαγος* is father of Amphios, E 612.

² 'Dein alius Asius Dymante genitus Hecubae frater ex Phrygia' (Π 718), Dict. Cret. 35.

Sestos would be essential for the purpose ; owing as Strabo says, 591, to its *γειτοσύνη*.

6. Pelasgi at Larisa under Hippothous and Pylaeus, sons of Lethus, son of Teutamus.¹

The Pelasgi depend for their definition upon Larisa ; Mr. Leaf's location of it and them (pp. 198 sqq.) is convincing. Again (cf. p. 148 n.), it is unnecessary to do more than notice that it was once believed Larisa and the Pelasgi had a connexion with Thessaly (Apollod. ii. 44).

We notice the Asiatic-sounding name of the grandfather, Teutamos. A Teutamos, twentieth from Ninus, was king of the Assyrians in Priam's day, Diod. ii. 22. Homer acted on two principles in dealing with Asiatics : either he provided them with pure Greek names, usually for minor personages, such as *Ἀρχέλοχος*, *Ἀκάμας*, and the Lycians, E 677, or he more or less grecized their names. Many of the latter class present themselves under a plausible disguise : e.g.

Ἀστυάναξ, cf. *Ἀστυάγης* : *Δηίφοβος* *Δηιλέων*, cf. *Δηιόκης* : *Κασσάνδρα*, cf. *Κασσανδάνη* :

all but undisguised are :

Δάρης, E 9 : *Ἐχέμμων*, E 160 : *Ἀτυμνιάδης*, E 581 : *Σέλαγος*, E 612 : *Ἀβαρβαρέη*, Z 22 : *Ὀδῖος*, B 856 : *Οὐκαλέγων*, Γ 148 : *Γοργυφίων*, Θ 302 : *Ἀμισώδαρος*, Π 328 : *Μάρις*, Π 319 : *Πέριμος*, Π 695 : *Ἀρπαλίων*, N 644.

This first section of the Trojan forces, the peoples on every side of Ida, known only along their north coast, appears to correspond to the boundaries of Priam's 'superiority' given Ω 544 :

ὅσσον Λέσβος ἄνω Μάκαρος² ἔδος ἐντὸς ἔργει
καὶ Φρυγίῃ καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων
τῶν σε γέρον πλούτῳ τε καὶ νίασι φασὶ κεκάσθαι.

¹ Cf. in general Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, 293 sqq. ; 'de Larisa Hippotus et Cupesus', Dares Phryg. 18.

² On Macar, whose daughter's maidservants the Muses were, see the Lesbian historian Myrsilus, *F. H. G.* iv. p. 457. The frequent variant *Μακάρων* is explained by Mela, ii. 7. 4. Pachymeres ii. 441. 1 has a place called *Μάκαρ* in Magnesia.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EUROPEAN ALLIES

THESE are recounted in a straight line outwards, without a return.

7. Thracians under Acamas and Peiroos, bounded by the Hellespont (ἐντὸς ἑέργει as 617, Ω 544). Peiroos performs exploits, Δ 519 sqq., which reveal his home as Αἶνος the modern Enos on the Maritza. Another part-Thracian, Iphidamas, son of Antenor and grandson of Cisses, came over from Thrace with twelve ships which he left at Percote (Λ 221 sqq.). As there is no mention of him in the Catalogue so there is none of a more important Thracian auxiliary, Rhesus. No one forced them into the Catalogue, as Asteropaeus gained a place. Rhesus' father Eioneus (Κ 435) seems to connect him with Eion at the mouth of the Strymon. In that case 'Thracian' must be inexact, as it would extend west of the next section.

8. The Cicones under Euphemus, whose pedigree for two generations is given. We notice the outlandish names Τροΐζηνος and Κέας, which do not recur in historical Thrace. Another chief of Κίκονες is Mentès, P 73. Ulysses' first stage after leaving Troy (ι 39) reveals their town to have been Ismaros, where Μάρων, priest of Apollo (198), seems to have baptized the later Μαρώνεια, now Marogna.

9. Last come the Paeones, owners it would appear of the paeon and the paeony (Miss Macurdy, *C. R.* 1912, 249; *C. Q.* 1915, 65)

τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος ἀπ' Ἀξιοῦ εὐρὸν ῥέοντος.

The site, whether Amydon or Abydon (there is no MS. variant, but Strabo, vii. fr. 20, 23, knows both forms, and Stephanus gives the place under both ἀβ- and ἀμ-), was destroyed (Strabo, ib. fr. 20). The Axios, however, is the Vardar.¹ The death of Pyraechmus their leader (Π 287) leads merely to the repetition of Amydon and Axios. Asteropaeus, son of Πηλεγών (a local name which suggests Pella, Πελαγόνες, Πελαγονία, Zeus Πέλωρος,² and perhaps Πελασγός),

¹ e.g. ἀξειδὸς ποταμὸς βαρδάριος on the margin of 'F' of Ptolemy, iii. 12. 11. The other Byzantine authorities are collected by Oberhummer in P.-W.

² And the Pelasgian festival Πελαγία, Baton ἐν τῇ περὶ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Αἰμονίας, *F. H. G.* iv. 349. Further πελιγόνες in Macedonian = γέροντες, πέλιοι and πελίοι in Molossian and Thesprotian = 'old', Strabo vii. fr. 2, πελιγᾶνες οἱ ἐνδοξοὶ Hesych. in v.

son of Axius, is Achilles' victim in the battle on the river, Φ 140 sqq. His distinction led the Euripidea and other editions to give him a place in the Catalogue (see Ammonius' commentary *Ox. Pap.* ii, 221). Apisaon or Amythaon was next after him P 348. Seven more occur Φ 209, 210.

These peoples from the Hellespont to the Vardar have benefited by modern ethnographical theory, which, continuing the ancient tradition of Phrygians immigrating from Europe, holds that the inhabitants of the Troad were of European or Thracian origin, and that therefore the north coast of the Euxine was bound to them by blood and trade. The wind of ethnography may change (and I think M. Sartiaux probably too closely identifies the Trojan and Greek culture, *Troie*, p. 13), but at any rate it is plain that no one in historical times would have thought of making Thrace pro-Trojan.

CHAPTER IX

THE ASIATIC ALLIES BEYOND THE TROAD AND DARDANIA ON THE NORTH COAST

THE author follows his method with regard to the peoples of the Troad, and goes first to the eastern pair of allies, the Paphlagonians and Halizones, from whom he makes his way back to Zelea.

10. The Paphlagonians under Pylaemenes¹

ἐξ Ἐνετῶν ὅθεν ἡμιόνων γένος ἀγροτεράων
οἳ ῥα Κύτωρον ἔχον καὶ Σήσαμον ἀμφενέμοντο
ἀμφί τε Παρθένιον ποταμὸν κλυτὰ δώματ' ἔναιον
Κρωμνάν τ' Αἰγιάλόν τε καὶ ὑψηλοὺς Ἐρυθίνους.

This amount of definition is singular in the Trojan Catalogue: the other places in east and south Asia have either none or much less. As it happens we are able to account for this abnormality, owing to the observation of Mr. W. G. Arkwright, which he allows me to reproduce, without however being a party to the conclusion I draw from his discovery.

Strabo 298 quotes Apollodorus ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ νεῶν at the beginning: Apollodorus approves of Eratosthenes' dictum that Homer knew Greece but had great inexperience of distant places. He gives instances of his acquaintance with Greece, and continues τὰ δ' ἀποθεν οὗτ' αὐτὸν εἶδέναι οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους. Though forty rivers run into the Pontus he has no mention even of the Ister, Tanais, Borysthenes, Hypanis, Phasis, Thermodon, or Halys: ἔτι δὲ Σκυθῶν μὲν μὴ μεμνήσθαι, πλάττειν δὲ ἀγανούς τινας Ἰππημολγούς καὶ Γαλακτοφάγους Ἀβίου τε. Παφλαγόνας τε τοὺς ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ ἱστορηκέναι παρὰ τῶν πεζῇ τοῖς τόποις πλησιασάντων, τὴν παραλίαν δ' ἀγνοεῖν· καὶ εἰκότως γε. ἅπλουν γὰρ εἶναι τότε τὴν θάλατταν ταύτην κτλ. Homer, therefore, had heard of the interior of Paphlagonia, but was unaware of the coast. But in our text we have Cyturus, Sesamus, the Parthenius, Cromna, Aegialus, and Erythini. The geographers identified these

¹ *Patre Melio gloriosus*, Dictys 35. (?)

places with historical coast-towns ; two names at least remain (Kidros and Bartan). The inference from the passage is that Eratosthenes, and after him Apollodorus, did not read these lines in the Homeric text. Most fortunately Strabo repeats himself and removes any possible ambiguity : 553 *εῖρηται δ' αὐτῷ που* [τῷ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ] *καὶ διότι ὁ ποιητὴς ἱστορίαν εἶχε τῶν Παφλαγόνων τῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ παρὰ τῶν πέζῃ διελθόντων τὴν χώραν, τὴν παραλίαν δ' ἀγνοεῖν. ὠνόμαζε γὰρ [ἄν]¹ αὐτήν.*

This means that between the time of Eratosthenes and Strabo these lines had got into the text. Strabo's words are too definite to leave any doubt. Such a textual phenomenon is not unparalleled.

It seems to have been in the first century B.C. that an actual 'vulgate' Homer was constituted : an instance is the substitution of *Πιερίη* for *Πηρεΐη* in B 766. *Πιερίη*, condemned as late as the first century B.C. by the commentator of *Ox. Pap.* 1086, became the vulgate, and drove the older and correct reading completely out (see p. 114). The views and works of the Alexandrines had little or no effect upon the vulgate. A reading, therefore, unrecognized by Eratosthenes might have propagated itself during the next hundred years or so and have gained a place in the edition, probably commercial, floated, perhaps at Rome, before Strabo's day. On the other hand a reading quoted and utilized by Eratosthenes and Apollodorus might have disappeared. As late as Plutarch's time editions containing important differences from the usual type were in use, and among them apparently the *Εὐριπίδειος*.

The source of lines 853-5 may be found, if not the critic who inserted them. It is natural to suppose that this diasceuaist did not take his five towns straight from nature, but that he transferred them from a document. This was the method *δι' ὑπομνημάτων* dear to Greek historians. The document which mentioned Cytorus, Sesamus, &c., was doubtless the Trojan Catalogue of the *Cypria* ; this, the work of the eighth century, must have applied colonial knowledge to amplify the Homeric Catalogue, or why did Stasinus give it a place? By Stasinus' time the Euxine was open and the Milesian and other colonies liked their antiquity and descent flattered. Moreover, if this critic took places off the map and not from the *Cypria*, why did he omit Sinope, a place eminently metrical?²

¹ For the supplement of 553 *ὠνόμασαι γὰρ ἄν*, 554 *ὠνόμασε γὰρ ἄν που*.

² But which was reduced to gain an entrance into the Homeric world under the

There is no precise date earlier than the seventh century for the colonization of Sinope.¹ It is conceivable that the *Cypria* was written before Sinope was settled, but after the colonization of Sesamus, Cyturus, &c. At least we so gain a plausible reason for its omission, difficult to account for on the other hypothesis. A case of a detected addition to the Homeric text from the Cycle, which maintained itself although at one time all but universally omitted (*σχεδὸν ἐν ἀπάσαις*) and though its origin was known (*ὁ Ἀντικλος ἐκ τοῦ κύκλου*) is δ 285-9.

Accordingly the original Paphlagonian entry appears to have consisted of lines 851 and 852 only, like the Halizonian and the Phrygian. It follows that as Homer knew the *μεσογαία* and not the coast, the *Ἐνετοί* and their wild asses were in the *μεσογαία*, as further appears from the story in Strabo 541 that Pompey put the inland Paphlagonians under the descendants of Pylaemenes (*μεταξὺ τῶν Παφλαγόνων τῶν μεσογαίων τινὰς βασιλεύεσθαι παρέδωκε τοῖς ἀπὸ Πυλαϊμένους*). This does not countenance Mr. Leaf's identification of *Ἐνετοί* or *Ἐνετή* with the later Heraclea. His Paphlagonian fleet also disappears, and much of the presumption of a Pontic trade in the heroic period. As long as these towns stood it was difficult to deny an acquaintance with the Euxine, and therefore some trade, to Agamemnon. Now the portulan is limited by the Aesepus. My view (*J. H. S.* 1913, p. 115) that the Paphlagonian towns represented a coasting-trade interrupted at the mouth of the Sangarius I think arguable in spite of Mr. Leaf's objurgations (*B. S. A.* xviii. 308), for the ancients were not modern financiers and had no objection to 'breaking bulk'; but the question does not arise if Homer were wholly ignorant of the Euxine. Such ignorance chimes in with his omission of any Pontus or Symplegades, features which made such an impression on the early navigators, and of Bithynians and other tribes east of Zelea, of which we find *Θυννοί* and *Μαριανδυννοί* as early as Hesiod, fr. 53, and is not contradicted by his mention of *Ἀργῶ*

singular guise of *Κάσος* (Tzetzes, *Chil.* xiii. 131). Cromna, according to the same authority, was Amastris.

¹ See Robinson, *A. J. P.* xxvii. 148. Eusebius dates Trapezus at 766 (Syncellus 401. 1). As Sinope was her metropolis (Xen. *An.* iv. 8. 22), Sinope was older. Grote, however (vol. iii, p. 333, n. 2, ed. 1847), doubts Eusebius' date for Trapezus and prefers his date of 629 for Sinope. If we stand by Eusebius in the latter place, the omission of Sinope in the *Cypria* is natural.

Eumelus is quoted by schol. Ap. Rhod. ii. 946 as mentioning Sinope, but in the case of a poet with a school, such as Eumelus, no date can be inferred from a bare mention any more than in the case of Hesiod.

πασιμέλουσα, since, as Demetrius said, Homer had no idea that Jason went to Phasis (Strabo 45 ἀρχὴν μὴδ' εἰδέναι τὴν εἰς Φᾶσιν ἀποδημίαν τοῦ Ἰάσονος). The direction of Argo's voyage is shown by the existence of his son at Lemnos, but for all we know to the contrary Argo may have been content with Proconnesus or the Golden Horn. Ulysses took the same route as Argo, μ 59 sqq., but the poet is far from imagining him entering a Black Sea, and we cannot tell where the first πλαγκταί were. The Milesian explorers elongated Argo's cruise *pari passu* with their own.

Callisthenes, who had to do with ἡ ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος, added a new section after this (Strabo 542 = scriptt. rer. Alex. fr. 28) in order to introduce the Caucones, whom he found, mere names, among the Trojan forces K 429, Y 329, viz.

Κανκῶνας δ' αὐτ' ἦγε Πολυκλέος υἱὸς ἀμύμων,
οἳ περὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν κλυτὰ δώματ' ἔναιον.

In his second line he modelled himself on the source of 854. Callisthenes parted the coast between the Caucones, from Tius to the Parthenius, and the Eneti from the Parthenius to Cyturus. In his day there were Cauconitae near the Parthenius (Ptolemy v. 1 places them near Mt. Orminion). These two lines, Mr. Arkwright remarks, were read by Apollodorus, of whom Strabo says 678 καταλέγεσθαι δέ [φησιν] ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τότε τῶν Τρώων καὶ τῶν νῦν ὀνομαζομένων Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μυσῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Λυκίων, Μήονάς τε ἀντὶ Λυδῶν καὶ ἄλλους ἀγνώτας οἶον Ἀλιζῶνας καὶ Καύκωνας· ἐκτὸς δὲ τοῦ καταλόγου Κητείους τε καὶ Σολύμους καὶ Κίλικας κτλ. This inference is unmistakable. Apollodorus, therefore, who did not read 853-5, which became the vulgate, read 855 a b which did not. The influence of Callisthenes was short-lived, that of the unknown pilferer of the *Cypria* permanent. The Alexandrians themselves had none at all.

11. Next to the Paphlagonians come a people called Ἀλιζῶνες or Ἀλιζῶνες under Odios or Hodius and Epistrophus (*fili Minoi*, Dictys 35),

τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης ὄθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη.

These two names, Ἀλιζῶνες and Ἀλύβη,¹ suggested to the Greek mind Ἀμάζῶνες and Χάλυβες respectively; and as both names are wanderers, and the Greeks never had any clear conception of the

¹ It recurs in Greek literature in Euphorion fr. 8 κελέβην Ἀλυβίδα (schol. Theocr. ii. 21).

home of either, every kind of interpretation, based often on verbal resemblances,¹ was put upon these lines. See Strabo, 549-55, whose refutation of the antiquaries, from Hecataeus downwards, is in his best style. His ardour is fanned by patriotism, for he was a native of Amasia in Cappadocia.

The text was much altered to suit these identifications (see the app. crit.): against these alterations Strabo's defence is good: his arguments are two—the absence of silver on the suggested sites, and the abuse of the word *τηλόθεν*.

There is perhaps a presumption that people mentioned next to the Paphlagonians, unlikely to be inland, should lie across the Halys, and Mr. Sayce in a note which I published, *J. H. S.* xxx. 815, interprets the words in connexion with the river: 'Ἀλύβη or rather Ἀλύβη corresponds with a Hittite Khaly-wa, "the land of the Halys", just as Ἀρζύβ[η] corresponds with Arzawa. The Halizonians are the Khalitu of the cuneiform inscription of the proto-Armenian King Rusas II (680 B.C.), discovered by Lehmann and Belck,² who says that he had made a campaign against "the Moschians, the Hittites, and the Khalitu". The silver-mines of the Taurus, which were worked by Hittites, were the chief source of the silver supplied to the early oriental world: hence the metal was a special favourite with the Hittites, from whom the rest of the world obtained it.

'The Homeric names of the Halizonian leaders are instructive: "the wayfarer" and the "traveller". They seem to be translations of the Assyrian *damgaru* or "commercial traveller", who plays a conspicuous part in the cuneiform tablets from Kara Eyuk near Kaisariyeh (Cappadocia) about 2000 B.C. It was through the *damgari* that the metals of Asia Minor were carried to Assyria and Palestine.'³

The Halys-country is now since the discoveries at Boghaz-Keui known as one of the provinces of the Hittite empire, a civilization and a race unknown to the Greeks. We have, therefore, in these two lines a record of the fact that Priam received help from Hittites, who faintly appear on the edge of the Homeric world as dealers in silver. Their identity was forgotten, but all the same it was often held that

¹ e.g. Alybe was Alope near Ephesus, according to Themistagoras ἐν τῇ χρυσῇ βίβλῳ in *An. Ox.* i, p. 80 (Epimerismi in the MS. O 8) under Ἀμαζών. Cf. Demetrius in Strab. 551; Pliny, vi. 115.

² Published by Lehmann (-Haupt), *Sitz. d. k. preuss. Akad.*, 1900, xxix, p. 625. Lehmann-Haupt had seen Halys in the word.

³ Ἀργύρια on the Cappadocian coast occur in Arrian, *Peripl. eux.* 24; Ἀργυρᾶ Anon. *Peripl.* 36: cf. Hamilton, *Travels*, i. 259; Leaf, pp. 290, 291.

the Λευκόσυροι assisted Troy, and Apollodorus' denial was considered singular (Strabo 552). In this district (Themiscyra and the Thermodon) Greek opinion localized the Amazons; and, therefore, perhaps so far as the substance and not the name goes the Greeks were not so wrong in seeing Ἀμαζόνες or Ἀμάζωνες in the Halizones. Amazons appear here and there in the *Iliad* as fighting with other Asiatic peoples;¹ Penthesilea, their queen, arrived to succour Troy immediately after Hector's death, according to Arctinus in the Aethiopis. Who they were, and whether they really fought in the field, I leave to the authorities in the subject,² merely remarking that the view that they were not women but Hittite men without beards seems discredited.

Again, so far as Ἀλύβη and Χάλυβες is concerned, we may notice that the modern Aleppo (in Assyrian Ḫaluppu, in Arabic Ḫalab) was called Χαλυβών (Ptol. v. 14. 13; Nicephorus, *H. E.* xiv. 39). Aleppo is eminently Hittite. So it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Ἀλύβη, Ἄλυσ, and Χάλυβες may really be connected.

12. The Μυσοί follow, under Chromis and Ennomos. There is no indication of place. The Μυσοί might be in the moon. From their order—between the Halizones and the Phrygians, who are relatively well-defined—they were perhaps intended to come where the historical Mysia stood, that is between the Zelean Trojans and the Phrygians (as Strabo thinks 564). The Cataloguer may have thought he was making a concentric curve like that of the Troad. They were not the same as their homonyms N 5.

Of the leaders Chromis (or Chromios) occurs frequently in the poems, last at P 534. Ennomus is killed Λ 422 (but there is a variant Ὀρμενον), but is alive in the company of Chromios P 218. Perhaps for this reason Aristarchus athetized B 860-1, where his fate is prophesied at the hands of Achilles ἐν ποταμῷ (i. e. Φ 17 sqq., where many perished unnamed).

Another Mysian leader is Ὑρτιος Ὑρτιάδης, wounded by Ajax Ξ 511, and at N 792 a Apollodorus (ap. Strab. 680) read a line which made Morys, son of Hippotion, a fourth, and also made Phalces, Orthaeus, Polyphetes, Palmys, Ascanius, and Morys or some of them

¹ Priam, Γ 184 sqq., assisted the Phrygians against them on the Sangarius: one of Bellerophon's labours in Lycia was to fight them, Ζ 186. In later tradition Sthenelus the Argive king fell against them, Promathidas, fr. 4. The poet Panyasis, fr. 25, made Smyrna an 'Assyrian'.

² Of which the latest is A. E. Cowley, *The Hittites*, London, 1920. See pp. 20, 23.

natives of a Mysian Ascania. As Ascanius and Ascania are Phrygian, B 862, 3, this does not seem correct: 792 a was probably added in some copies in Mysian interests. See the next section. The same personages recur, Ξ 511 sqq., with some variants in the names.¹

13. The Phrygians come next, under Phorcys² and Ascanius, τῆλ' ἐξ Ἀσκανίης. The statement is repeated, N 793, of a relief (ἄμοιβοί) ἐξ Ἀσκανίης ἐριβόλακος, including Ascanius and Morys who, as we have just seen, appears also as a Mysian. Further, Γ 184 sqq., Priam calls Phrygia ἀμπελόεσσα, declares that the people belong to Otreus and Mygdon, both historical place-names (Strabo 566), and that he fought with them against the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarius. Hecuba's brother Asios was a Phrygian and lived on the streams of the Sangarius, II 717 sqq. The river was a variant, Ξ 445.

These indications fix the Homeric Phrygia to the neighbourhood of the historical lake Ascania, famous for the city of Nicaea, the actual Isnik. The district was later called Φρυγία ἐπικτητος or Ἑλλησπόντιακή. The Cataloguer, however, mentions nothing but Ἀσκανίη, which whether he regards as a town, country, or lake, is uncertain.

Strabo (564, 680) notices an attempt to set up two Ascanias, one in Phrygia, the other in Mysia. The second was in the district of Cyzicus on the road to Miletupolis. Strabo himself does not believe in the distinction. The difficulty intended to be met was that whereas Ascania is described as τῆλε, B 863, nevertheless, as we have seen, N 793, reliefs (ἄμοιβοί) come from Ascania. This difficulty is imaginary. Τῆλε or τηλόθεν is used of the extremes of the Trojan world, the Paeones, the Halizones, and the Lycians, and if it is applied to anything on the sea of Marmora it suits as well or as ill the Dascylitis as Nicaea. If any stress is to be laid upon it it means that the Cataloguer did not know where Phrygia was.³ The other difficulties arise from the universal wish to find the later districts, namely the historical Moesia, the historical Mysia and Phrygia, in Homer. The short line 792 a Μυσῶν ἀγχεμάχων ἡγήτορα [καρτεροθύ-

¹ Μόρυν θ' υἷ' Ἰπποτίωνος, N 792, deserves the preference over Μόρυν τε καὶ Ἰπποτίωνα, Ξ 514, if we compare B 621 Ἀκτορίωνε (Ar.) and Ἀκτορίωνος, which show the tendency to assimilate adjoining cases.

² A local name, Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 229.

³ There is nothing inconsistent in calling a boundary-state 'far-off': a Roman may think of Switzerland as far away. The epithet of Phrygia in Ω 545 καθύπερθεν is nearly as strong.—Ἀμοιβοί too does not decide anything. Penthesilea brought ἄμοιβοί to the Halizones apparently, and Rhesus to the Thracians, both 'from a distance'.

μων] quoted by Strabo 595 after N 792 with the effect of making the ἀμοιβοί from Ascania Mysians¹ I should regard, as I have said, as an insertion by the champions of a Mysian Ascania. Strabo copied the passage from their books (i. e. from Apollodorus). See in general Mr. Leaf, pp. 301, 302. The same district we may note inconsistently provided a home for the Halizones (Strabo 551, 552). There was silver there, Leaf, *B. S. A.* xxxii. 30.

¹ The notion of a Mysian or Dascylitid Ascania goes some way back and is often met: cf. Hellanicus, fr. 127, Euphorion and Alexander Aetolus ap. Strab. 681; and Euphorion ap. Steph. in v., Nic. Damasc. ap. Steph. in v.

CHAPTER X

ASIATIC ALLIES ON THE WEST COAST

FROM the *Μυσοί* the poet proceeds to the fourth spoke of his wheel, which like the second (the Thracian allies) is a straight course out without return.

14. The Meiones¹ under Mesthles and Antiphus, sons of Talae-
menes (Pylaemenes or Palaemenes many MSS. and Strabo 626, no
doubt from v. 851), and the lake Gygaea² who lived under
Tmolus. This is unusual detail. The lake Gygaea and Tmolus
imply the site of the historical Sardis, much the furthest place
from the sea to be described in the Trojan Catalogue. Whether
the Cataloguer conceived of a town at this spot and knew the
word Sardis is not plain. Strabo 625 held that it was later than
the *Τρωικά*.

Still more detail is given in the body of the poem, Υ 384 sqq.
Iphition was born (385) *Τμώλῳ ὑπο νιφόεντι Ὕδης* (v. ll. Ὕλης and
Ἰδης) *ἐν πίονι δημῷ*; his race is *ἐπὶ λίμνῃ Γυγαίῃ ὅθι τοι τέμενος
πατρώϊόν ἐστι, Ὕλλῳ ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντι καὶ Ἑρμῷ δινήεντι*: the Euripidea
inserted line 385 into the Catalogue. The absence of Sardis in-
duced some authorities to believe that it, or its acropolis, was
intended by Ὕδῃ or Ὕλῃ (Maeandrius ap. Steph. in Ὕλῃ, *τινές* ap.
Strab. 626; Pliny v. 110), others (schol. E 44) thought it was meant
by *Τάρνῃ* which occurs E 44:

Μήονος νιὸν

Βώρου ὃς ἐκ Τάρνης ἐριβώλακος εἰληλούθει,

¹ They were held by the Greeks to have preceded the *Λυδοί* (Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 385 sqq.).

² The variant *γυραίῃ* for *γυγαίῃ* in the Massaliotic edition and one papyrus meant 'round'; cf. *γυραῖαν πέτρην* δ 507, *ἐπεὶ δὲ λίμνης ἐγγὺς ἦσαν γυρίης* (sic Babrius 25. 5, ap. Suid.), Theophranes continuatus 181. 8 *λιβάδιον παράκειται Ἐὺριν ἀγροικικῇ φωνῇ καλούμενον*. A pond outside one of the gates of Constantinople is called *Γυρολίμνη* by many chroniclers (e.g. Nicetas Chon. 720. 1, Nicephorus Greg. i. 315, 17 al.). Anna's etymology (ii. 48. 12) *κατὰ τὴν ἀργυρᾶν καλουμένην λίμνην* is usually preferred. The Gygaean mere was as round as the *τροχοειδὴς λίμνη* at Delos (*περιγῆς* in Callimachus, *Apoll.* 59). We do not know what was the relation between the name of the lake and the person-name *Γύγης*. The actual name was *Κολή*, Strabo 626.

but this place seems to me more likely to be ἸΑταρνεύς (ἸΑταρνα and Τάρνα, ap. Steph. in v. and in ἸΑταισός. Pliny's source, l. c., speaks of a *fons Tarni*). Eumelus, the Corinthian poet, was acquainted, it would seem, with Sardis, fr. 18 Kinkel.¹

Further we have Sipylus and its rock-sculptures, Ω 615.

The absence, both in the Catalogue and in the poem generally, of the name Sardis, and of any allusion to the coast or to Smyrna, is remarkable. Τάρνη, if it is ἸΑταρνεύς, belongs to Teuthrania, which itself is ignored, though Eurypylus, son of Telephus, appears in the *Odyssey*, and the Telephus-episode seems part of the original saga. There is silence, as is notorious, over the rest of the coast and islands south of the Troad.

15. The Carians under Nastes and Amphimachus from Miletus, the mountain Phthiri, the river Maeander, and the steep headland Mycale. These abundant landmarks are due to the Greek inhabitants of the Sporades. The northernmost of them were almost on the edge of the Latmiac gulf. They cannot but have had some relations with the continent, and to these relations is due the epithet βαρβαρόφωνοι applied to the Carians. The settlers in Leros became aware that Carian was a heathen tongue. The same discovery was made about the Sinties of Lemnos (ἀγριόφωνοι, θ 294) and the Italians (ἀλλόθροοι, α 183). Herodotus uses the last word and ἀλλόγλωσσοι also. A variant applies it to the Μυσοί Ξ 512.

These relations are confirmed by archaeology, which comes to our aid for the first time in Asia (after Troy, *bien entendu*): both at Assarlik and at Miletus itself remains of the latest Minoan period have been found (Dussaud, p. 203; Thompson, p. 136), more it may be hoped will be found at Datcha. These, together with the traditional date of the settlement of Halicarnassus (p. 105), show that Greek settlement in Asia began immediately after the fall of Troy, and exactly on the peraea of the Sporades.²

Of Amphimachus,³ as previously of Ennomus the Mysian, it is asserted 'he fell at the hands of the son of Aeacus at the river', ἐν ποταμῷ. In the μάχη παραποτάμιος, book Φ, there is no mention of

¹ Magnes' poem on the Lydian campaign against the Amazons (perhaps the ἸΑμαζονία in the Suidan list of Homer's works) may have influenced the passage in Υ.

² Apollonius of Rhodes, as we have noted, made Miletus and Samos Greek at the time of the Argonauts. What the meaning of the common legend that Miletus was founded from Miletus in Crete may be is obscure.

³ In Dictys, iv. 12, Amphimachus as well as Nastes are killed by Ajax, son of Telamon, after Achilles' death.

the slaughter of Mysians or Carians. It is possible to consider them included in the general expression Φ 1-16; or, there may have been a different version of Φ , in which these warriors took the place of Asteropaeus. Aristarchus moreover athetized 860, 861, and though there is no scholion 874-5 are obelized in A and one papyrus (875-6 is an error). But his atheteses are as likely as not a recognition of their absence in Φ .

Is it necessary that ἐν ποταμῷ should refer to Φ ? In Dictys, iii. 15, Achilles ambushes Hector at a river: *hostem securum sui praevertit, tum ingredi flumen occipientem circumvenit*. The 'Assyrian' account of the Trojan war (Diod. ii. 22) had Memnon caught in an ambush, though no river is mentioned. Such surprises in spruits are natural in the Trojan plain, and one of them, an attack on a convoy, was represented on the shield of Achilles, Σ 520:

οὐ δ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἴκανον ὅθι σφίσιν εἴκε λοχῆσαι
ἐν ποταμῷ, ὅθι τ' ἀρδμὸς ἔην πάντεσσι βοτοῖσι,
ἐνθ' ἄρα τοί γ' ἕζοντ' εἰλυμένοι αἶθοπι χαλκῷ.

16. The Lycians under Sarpedon and Glaucus, a long way off, on the river Xanthus. The chiefs recur, but there is no geographical indication of Lycia beside its river, unless the Chimaera, which (Π 328) was clearly in Lycia, is to be interpreted a volcano.

This list appears to represent the knowledge of Asia and north Europe current in Greece before the Ionic migration. We are struck by its scantiness and its absence of detail. There are no frontiers anywhere, nor any means for guessing them (except on the Hellespont).

The Trojans, Dardanians, Cicones, and Mysians are mere names. Pandarus' Trojans, the Pelasgi, the Phrygians, the Halizones, have one town, the Lycians a river: real knowledge is confined to the south shore of the Hellespont and sea of Marmora as far as the Aesepus, Miletus, and the Meiones with their lake and mountain. The knowledge of Miletus is evidently due to the settlement of the Sporades opposite to it, and perhaps to old relations between Crete and Miletus; a real familiarity with the Hellespont also must be admitted, presumably arising out of commercial relations. As M. Sartiaux says, p. 189, the towns on the Hellespont were the real places of exchange, not Troy. The Argo's exploit may have consisted in navigating these straits as far as Arctonnesus. It took the sea of Marmora for an ocean and called it ἀσκάνιος πόντος from

Ascania, the name probably of the south coast, which the later Greeks turned into ἄσκανος and then Ἐσκανός (see Hasse in E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* ii. 444 ; Cowley, *J. H. S.* xxx. 317). The acquaintance with the Gygean lake and Tmolus in Maeonia is singular, since these places are far removed from the coast. There is no mention either of a river or of any site such as Smyrna on the sea. This entry is mysterious, as is further shown by the omission of the name Sardis. With this exception I think the chart may fairly be described as a portulan in spite of M. Sartiaux's objection (p. 185). The complete silence in the whole poem about the coast between Miletus and Tarne is striking. Ephesus, seat of Apollo, and Smyrna do not exist. This bears out Mr. Hogarth's remarks (*Ionia and the East*, p. 47) that the Hittite empire while it lasted closed the coast. The Trojans seem to have continued the policy. Asia, past a mere fringe, was a sealed and unknown country. We cannot suppose a great trade between Greece and Asia when the natural emporia, save Miletus, are all passed over in silence.

Such is the Catalogue of Trojans. On neither side does it reflect or forecast later history ; the claims and vanity of no one are served by it. The colonists among whom it was sung first are not allowed the slightest prophesy or indication of their future existence ; the nostos of no hero affects it. It appears to really represent conditions in Greece at the time of the Trojan war, and the knowledge which Greece had of Asia at that moment. This knowledge amounted to a few names of coast-features at Miletus, a mountain and a lake where Sardis and Lydia were afterwards known to the Greeks : a string of towns on the Hellespont. Beyond this there is nothing but names : no Euxine, no Bosphorus. The furthest known people are dealers in silver, whose name and that of a place where they lived tradition kept with singular exactness, but who were never recognized by the later Greeks. A document of this venerability invited attack, but, as we have seen, in all but one case repelled it.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSIONS

SOME general questions remain for discussion. (1) The relation of the Catalogue to the rest of the poems has been much disputed; in the old days, when the Niese-view was in vogue, it was naturally thought very late, and however late the rest of the poem might be, the Catalogue was the latest part. Now that we see the Catalogue demonstrably depicts a prae-Dorian period, it can hardly be brought below the end of that period. Such a document may survive from its authority or venerability, it is less likely to be composed after the period of which it treats. In the poems there are no traces of the Dorian world so far as Greece is concerned (I have explained the Boeotian name). For Asia it is different: the writer is scrupulous in ignoring the present, but there are accidental touches—allusions not essential to the cause of the story, sometimes in similes—which reveal the familiarity with Asia natural in a colonial poet. These I have collected p. 145 n. No anachronism is involved in any of these passages: the question is only whether they come from Greek knowledge of Asia before or after the Trojan war. The cumulative impression is that they are due to colonial knowledge, certainly the birds on the Asian meadow and the two volcanoes. A further question is, are they additions to be ascribed to Homer's children the Cyclists? As no historical propriety is violated, and there is no Black Sea and no colonies (all of which details we find in the Cycle) we may as well ascribe them to the father at 900 as to his sons from 750-600. The body of the poem is therefore colonial; the catalogue is prae-colonial. The *παρεκβάσεις*, which recall the generations of Heracles and Meleager, are *prima facie* older than their context; but these put aside, the Catalogue appears older than the body of the poems and the oldest Greek verse we possess. That the Catalogue contains less information than the body of the poem is natural. We do not expect to find as many names and places in a military

table or state of 400 lines as in a poem of 15,000. The Catalogue is, indeed, more remarkable for what it contains than what it leaves out. Neither it nor the poems generally give a complete image of the heroic world; both omit countless actual names. Strabo 554 protests against what we call the *argumentum ex silentio*: *μοχθηρῶ σημείῳ χρήται πᾶς ὁ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ λέγεσθαι τι ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὸ ἀγνοεῖσθαι ἐκείνο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεκμαιρόμενος*, and gives many instances of intentional omissions: the Meles at Smyrna, the Pactolus, Smyrna itself, the other Aeolic and Ionian towns, the rivers Lethaeus and Mar-syas; no rivers or mountains in Attica or Aetolia; no Milyae, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Mariandyni, Thyni, Bithyni, Bebryces, Syrians, Leucosyrians, Cappadocians, Lycaonians; and in the Catalogue, the Leleges and Cilices (619). The same argument, partly an echo of Strabo, is put by Allacci, *de patria Homeri*, p. 1736, ed. Gronov. 1701: *et, ut verum fatear, ineptissimus ille argumentandi modus videtur, quo vel Iliacis vel Homeri temporibus eius rei nullum usum fuisse cuius apud illum nulla mentio est probatur: quasi nihil praetermiserit ille, et tempus illud plenissime posteris descripserit. non potuit vir ille omnes nationum omnium mores et instituta in duobus voluminibus perexiguus admodum si rem consideres ad amussim circumscribere. eo tamen usus est Plinius, qui Troiano seculo nullum annuli usum extitisse, Iosephus nullas leges, et alii alia, quod neque annuli neque legis neque aliorum Homerus meminere.*

But though neither is exhaustive the Catalogue and the rest of the poems agree very well, and Mr. Leaf's attempt to set up a discrepancy between them fails completely. Some of the heroes in the Catalogue do not recur: but in a military action of a few days it would be unreasonable to expect all the leaders of troops to distinguish themselves. In the saga the Catalogue stood at the beginning, and the whole war was open for the contingents and their leaders to win immortality: Homer, who transferred the Catalogue to introduce the Wrath of Achilles, contrived to still do well by the princes. Out of forty-three on the roll thirty-five gain a mention later in the poem. More could not be demanded of an artist with a sense of the probable. Eight only (Epistrophus, Agapenor, Thalius, Polyxenus, Nireus, Antiphon, Guneus, and Prothoos) failed to obtain a mention in despatches during the brief quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles.

(2) Mr. Leaf has put forward the view that the Catalogue is not a picture of heroic conditions but was drawn up at a later period

in the interest of smaller later states who wished to assert themselves against the great Achæan monarchies and obtain a share in the Trojan war. I add some considerations to the discussion pp. 143 sqq.

Apart from the difficulty of interpreting lines B 362-8 in a sense which no one can pretend they naturally bear (and they are the only indication of the supposed purpose of the Cataloguer), and the disproportion between this simple cumbrous introduction to the Catalogue and the far-reaching hidden political purpose with which Mr. Leaf credits the poet, the only basis for this view,—that there was one Achæan empire and several large kingdoms under it, in a condition of vassalage (E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* ii, p. 188)—is the description of the political position of Agamemnon in the *Iliad*. There is, of course, no external or material proof of his position at all. It is a matter of interpretation of the data of the *Iliad*, and after my discussion (p. 71) I advance that such a view is false. It was a misapprehension of Meyer's in its origin, and has been exploited for his purposes by Mr. Leaf.

The test of the theory is simple. Let any one take pencil and paper and make a list of the Catalogue-states and the states of history. He will find two results: first he will see in the Catalogue three really great kingdoms, Argos (including Troezen, Epidaurus, and Aegina), Pylos, and Achæa-Sicyon-Corinth-Mycenæ, and one lesser one Cephallenia-Zacynthos-Ithaca, which never recurred in the historical period; and, secondly, he will find in the Catalogue twenty-nine communities against thirty-six in later history. Beside the states merged in Argos and Sicyon-Corinth he will find the following new states in history: the Ozolian Locri, Megara, Messenia, Acarnania, Doris. Against this he will put one separate state, Orchomenus, and, when we come to divisions, he will find the area of Thessaly divided in the Catalogue into nine parts against five in history.

Accordingly, the Catalogue favours concentration rather than individualism. It must have been a bitter pill for Aegina and Megara, and we see that the latter reacted against it. No: the dispositions of the Catalogue are true. It reflected fact without prejudice: gave Orchomenus an independent existence, but subjected Aegina to Argos and Sicyon to Corinth. The astonishing authority of Homer, and no doubt the respect of the Greeks for their history, allowed the document to survive.

(3) We next ask, is the Catalogue as we have it the original document? and where did it come from?

It would be unreasonable to suppose that we have the Catalogue in its literal original form. On the other hand it is difficult to find a canon by which to separate additions from the original. Homer may well have adapted a list of men, places, and ships to the purpose of his poem by adding details; on the other hand he may have taken a longer list and shortened it: and again rhapsodes may have performed either operation. We may certainly cut out passages relating to events chronologically later than the muster at Aulis: e.g. the absence of Achilles and the prophecy of his return (686-94); the death of Protesilaus (699 sqq.); the illness and absence of Philoctetes (721 sqq.). These lines are due to the poet who introduced a Catalogue into his poem at a late date in the war, that is to say to Homer. In the original Catalogue these statements were either not there or were given the form of prophecy. Beside this criterion we may find some guide in the atheteses of the Alexandrians, whose judgement was at its best in the detection of short additions. They athetized, 528-30, the description of Ajax, son of Oileus (on account of Πανέλλαγνος and λινωθώρηξ), 553-5 the eulogy of Menestheus (on the ground that he does not actually direct manoeuvres); 558 (on the ground that the Athenians and Ajax were not really together); 579, 580 (because subsequently Ajax is called ἄριστος); 612-14 the statement that Agamemnon lent ships to the Arcadians (no reason given); 641, 642 the family of Oeneus (reason again uncertain); 669 the Rhodian constitution and prosperity (as unnecessary to the sense); 673-5 Nireus' beauty (because Achilles takes the palm); 686-94 that the Myrmidons had no leader (reason not given); 724, 725 that the Argives would soon remember Philoctetes (reason not given). In the Trojan Catalogue 860, 861 the fate of Ennomus and apparently 874, 875 the fate of Amphinomus also (because Ennomus is not mentioned by name in Φ).

Most of these excisions are due to Zenodotus, and while his assigned reasons seem sometimes singular, we see that he believed additions, of an anecdotic character, had been made to the Catalogue, and that these betrayed themselves usually by disagreement with the rest of the text. We cannot follow him all the way. If Homer moved the Catalogue from elsewhere and put it in its actual place, it was to serve as a list of dramatis personae and be an introduction to the fighting; for which purpose the additions fit it. So far as the use of

epithets goes this is recognized by Dion: Hal. *comp. verb.* 102 οὕτως αὐτὰ [sc. τὰ ὀνόματα ἃ ταῖς Βοιωτίαις κείται πόλεσι] καλῶς ἐκεῖνος συνόφαγκεν καὶ παραπληρώμασιν εὐφώνοις διέλιψεν ὥστε μεγαλοπρεπέστατα φαίνεσθαι πάντων ὀνομάτων.

On the other hand we sometimes seem to see a fuller state of the Catalogue, as if the actual list were an abridgement of another in which the particulars had been more ample. This appears in the much extended detail of Achilles' troops and their five divisions, Π 168 sqq. The account of Medon in N suggests a fuller Catalogue abbreviated in B. Further, the various attempts to enlarge the Catalogue (which we have noticed) refer us to as many places where the account in the body of the poem is fuller than that in the Catalogue. Whether the Catalogue be a reduction of these fuller accounts, or the fuller accounts an amplification of the Catalogue, there is no general principle to decide.

The same appears possible of the Trojan Catalogue. M 88 we have an account of their system of partition, four divisions of Trojans, a fifth of all the allies under Sarpedon, Glaucus, and Asteropaeus. In several other places, as we have seen, the body of the poem gives topographical details which are not found in the Catalogue.

But on the whole the fairly uniform scale of the Catalogue, the great quantity of information it contains, the insuccess of nearly all the attempts to enlarge it, the probability that a colonial poet (if he had composed a Catalogue) would have been unable to resist his fuller information and wider world, especially on the Asiatic side (as the Cyclic poets did not resist their surroundings), and further the early canonicity of the document, its acceptance as an international history early in the sixth century (from which we may infer to a sanctity extending much further back), incline us to believe that its original compass was about that which it now possesses, and that it is not a précis of a longer list.

(4) The origin of the Catalogue is a matter for the pure imagination. This, indeed, is not its peculiarity. Every step that we make behind the poems as we have them consists largely or principally in an exercise of that faculty. Archaeology provides us with a long series of undoubted facts, the adjustment of which to the statements of the poems requires, if we look to large conclusions, an energetic fancy; and in matters outside archaeology—the language of Homer, the verse (if any) which preceded the hexameter, the poems (if there were poems) which preceded the epics, the method by which the

history of the wars of Thebes and Troy was handed down—here we are delivered at present to pure wondering; and when so much is written at length and in confident tones on these subjects it is well to say so. The only apparent sources—the inscriptions of Crete and Greece, of Asia Minor—are still, and it is possible they will always be, dumb oracles. Provisionally, therefore, I repeat the hypothesis—imaginative I admit—which I laid down in the *Journal of Philology* for 1910 (vol. xxxi), and which has met so far as I know with no answer except the genial reply of Andrew Lang in vol. xxxiii of the same journal.

The Trojan war being admitted a real event (and here I do not argue with those who deny it) it follows that Homer's account of part of it, however freely he may have treated his theme, must have been derived from some account, oral or written, prose or verse. The *Odyssey* shows us verse accounts of contemporary and slightly past events delivered from the lips of professional poets. In the opening books of the *Odyssey* and at Scheria in book θ , the respective bards at their lords' boards entertain the company with the Trojan war, then ten years past, and the nostos of the heroes. They sing no marvels or *τέρατα*, no monsters of the borders of civilization, no witches or one-eyed giants such as Ulysses recounts when it comes to his turn, but episodes in the war and the nostos; (nostos *a* 325, the quarrel of Ulysses and Achilles θ 73, the Wooden Horse θ 487): the bard can change his subject, accepts a suggestion for a theme, and increases his *répertoire* to keep the ear of his public. The means of knowledge therefore were not mere conversation, they took the form of verse, verse in the hands of a professional class. During the war itself Achilles, who, unlike the other monarchs, could play the harp, consoled himself with the chanting of *κλέα ἀνδρῶν*, that is the exploits of the old time before him. The Sirens too, when they 'set up their loud song', did not promise the material charms that we have come to associate with them, but the account of the whole Trojan war. Wandering seamen are assumed to want to hear the news, and these singing women have it. This is how, in the generation after the Trojan war, Homer represents the news of it and its consequences passing round Greece and across the sea. This, therefore, is how the historical tradition of the war (and earlier wars) started.

Now the traditional Greek view of Homer is that he was the follower of a line or a crowd of poets. Polybius, xii. 25 i, takes him

for a type of the method δι' ὑπομνημάτων: as Timaeus settled at Athens for fifty years, πρὸς τοῖς τῶν προγεγονότων ὑπομνήμασι γενόμενος (ib. 25 d), so Homer collected the works of his predecessors, built his poems out of them, and did not add much to his sources (ib. xxxiv. 2. 9). The late anecdotists and the Fathers have long lists of early epic poets, and the opinion was demonstrably held as early as Hippias the sophist (ap. Clem. Alex. ii. 228), and in Herodotus' day (ii. 53 he thinks the predecessors were not really predecessors, but ii. 23 he uses the common opinion: Ὅμηρον δὲ ἢ τινα τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ποιητέων δοκέω τὸ οὄνομα εἰρόντα ἐς ποίησιν ἐσενέικασθαι). Fifth century opinion, therefore, held that Homer followed other poets, and it is no violent assumption to imagine that they formed the bridge between him and Demodocus and Phemius. That composition of the bulk and art of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* occur late in the history of poetical composition is obvious and is only too readily admitted. It is also obvious that in two compositions, one of which devotes 15,000 lines to a quarrel of a few days towards the end of a ten years' war, and the other 12,000 to the nostos of an original but nowise important hero, there must be a great deal of addition and adaptation; that is to say the source must have been very different, in bulk and disposition.

Tradition and the explicit statements of Homer combined then show us historical tradition originating in bardic accounts of the Trojan war, handed on through a line of bards or poets until a single episode was selected and adorned by Homer. The bardic accounts almost contemporary with the war we may call saga or chronicle; and a document which, like the Catalogue, is wholly prae-Dorian, must belong to this stage and to this stuff or kind of record.

The nature of the prae-Homeric poems does not strictly concern us here. It may be conjecturally arrived at by considering the short and pedestrian character of the Cycle, which survived owing to its consecutive narrative as Proclus tells us (the character belongs more to some Cyclic poems than to others), and the only non-Homeric account of the war which we possess (except Dares Phrygius). Dictys of Crete, as we possess the book, is modernized in some respects, but I have suggested that on the whole it represents the chronicle or prae-Homeric version of the Trojan war, particularly in its consecutiveness and its treatment of the different episodes at uniform length. This I need not dwell on further here, but I may note two coincidences. No man, I think I may say, is less disposed

than I to value analysis of the poems, but I find in Belzner's treatment of the *Odyssey* (*Homerische Probleme*, ii. 1912) a statement derived from analysis only; that Ulysses' wanderings and adventures (ι - μ) were originally told in the third person (p. 234), and other critics have thought that Ulysses' attack on the suitors was originally open and above-board. Both conclusions agree with Dictys' version. If any one wishes to maintain that Dictys by the free employment of his mother-wit upon the *Odyssey* inverted the order of Ulysses' adventures and contrived a new version of the vengeance on the suitors, he is welcome.

The objections which Andrew Lang raised to my account of the heroic chronicle are that such origin for a poem has no parallel in the mediaeval northern literatures. It is true, but an argument *ex analogia* must begin by proving general similarity of circumstances. The circumstances of heroic Greece and mediaeval Europe were similar in some points, but one important differentia distinguished them. In the Middle Ages the *jongleur* was not the historian; there was the convent chronicler, the clerk at his desk. In Greece literature was all metrical: the undoubted genealogical Corinthian works (the school of Eumelus) were metrical, and so pedestrian in their tone that when prose did come in and the logographi applied it to history, the later historians doubted if a given work by Eumelus were in verse or in prose. Unless we give up the traditional account of the period and nature of the first Greek prose, there was in the heroic age no vehicle for a chronicle but verse, and the Muse was indeed a 'gazette in verse'.

(5) I may conclude these remarks by considering the reason for the Trojan war; for persons who, like Strabo,¹ Mr. Myres, M. Bérard, Mr. Leaf, M. Sartiaux, and myself, believe that there was such a war may fairly be expected to be able to explain its causes. My predecessors have all in different ways thought that the object of the Trojan war was to force the Dardanelles. M. Bérard, relying on his *Law of the Isthmus*, thought the Greeks were unable to make the opening of the Dardanelles and consequently landed their goods more or less in Besika Bay, which were then held up by the King of Troy. They fought, therefore, to remove this obstacle to their commerce. Mr. Leaf, based on the *Mediterranean Pilot*, had no difficulty in showing that there was no hindrance in nature to navigating the Dardanelles. He accordingly invented a

¹ 149 fin., the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were based on *συμβάντα*.

different hypothesis, namely, that the inhabitants of the Pontus sent their produce through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles by water, with the intention of making the Aegaeon, but the tides of the Dardanelles taking them to the south bank¹ they were detained by the King of Troy, who prevented them passing further and merely allowed them to sell their goods at a fair under his walls, where the Greek traders who landed at Antandrus and Adramyttium purchased them plus a high duty. This fair and this transit of merchandise M. Sartiaux does not believe in. He more simply thinks that the Trojans closed the Hellespont to navigation.

Against Mr. Leaf I asked in my review of him (*J. H. S.* 1913, pp. 114-15) for evidence of any sea-borne trade with the Euxine in the heroic age, and this evidence I still desire. Mr. Leaf, on being pressed, produced (*B. S. A.* xviii, p. 311) from Leonhardt's book on the Hittites (p. 203) Mycenaean sherds from a site near Amisos, as though it required a Paphlagonian fleet to carry pottery to Amisos, a place notoriously standing on one of the principal Asiatic roads. There has been no other evidence adduced. None of the articles in use in Homer requires a Black Sea trade. Amber may have come down the Adriatic, as Herodotus says it did; vermilion is found in various places in the Mediterranean, in fact on two islands of the Aegean (Blümner, *Technologie*, iv. 478 sqq.); no one will postulate a commercial fleet to fetch silver from Alybe. I am still prone to think that writers on this subject, Mr. Leaf especially, have without thinking ante-dated the historical conditions, when Athens lived on Russian corn and fish, and there was a trade in timber, asses, vermilion and what not with the Euxine. Moreover, with the disappearance of the list of Paphlagonian ports from the Catalogue, much of the prepossession which led to this belief is, I think, gone. Accordingly, I still ask for proof of, not a land, but a sea-borne trade with the Pontus in the heroic age.

If it be thought, with M. Sartiaux, that the Trojans simply prevented access to the Hellespont, there remains the remarkable detail of the Trojan Catalogue to deal with. If the Hellespont was sealed, how is it that a string of towns from Sestos and Abydos as far as Zelea is given, and after Zelea none? Knowledge means

¹ That this happened in fact appears from Procopius, *Anecd.* 138. 20 ἄρχων τις ἐκ βασιλέως στελλόμενος ἐν Ἀβύδῳ καθήστο διερευνώμενος ἥν ναῦς ὅπλα φέρουσα ἐς Βυζάντιον οὐ βασιλέως ἴοι γνώμη κτλ.: as to the navigation he says, *de Aedif.* 310. 13 sqq., that it depends on the wind at Sestos and Abydos, whence Justinian constructed magazines at Tenedos for the use of the σιταγωγὸς στόλος from Alexandria.

at this period, I presume, trade or relations of some kind. These were unimportant places in themselves then and afterwards; overland they would be difficult of access. To coasting ships they presented themselves naturally. This is why they appear in the Catalogue, while the Phrygian nation hangs in air, defined by 'far-off Ascania', town, mountain, district, lake or sea? It looks as though Jason, or his children at Lemnos, were conversant with the coast as far as Zelea, but no further, or else the Phrygians would have been defined by the features which made so deep an impression on the later Greeks, the Bosphorus, the Symplegades, the Pontus. But, if the coast to Zelea was known, how can we say the Hellespont was closed?

I return to my own view ¹ (*J. H. S.* xxx. 308) that the reason of the Trojan war was to remove the last power which dominated the Asiatic coast and prevented settlement. I base my view on the simple circumstance that before the Trojan war a few Sporades and Rhodes were colonized, islands under the lee, as it were, of Crete, and as far removed as possible from the Troad. Almost immediately after the fall of Troy, that is within two generations, the great islands and the whole of the coast were settled. Therefore, so far as one event can be said to produce another, the removal of Troy produced colonization. And when M. Sartiaux objects (p. 151) that the raids of Achilles (and other heroes) during the war gave possession of Lesbos and many towns in the Troad, thus beginning the colonization of Asia, one may fairly answer that these operations are only represented as being destructive raids with the object, no doubt, of cutting off the resources of Troy, part of the 'guerre d'usure' which M. Sartiaux has happily adduced, and without permanent results. The Greek legend invariably represented the total withdrawal of the Greeks when Troy fell, and as M. Sartiaux notices (p. 142) the historical towns of the Troad are not those mentioned as inhabited sites in the *Iliad*. There was no survival in the Aeolic colonization of the places said to have been taken in the Trojan war: the district chosen was far to the south.

Trade, on the other hand, cannot be proved to have altered or grown when Troy fell. The effect of the war, and presumably its object too (if there were a definite object), was to open the Asiatic coast. Trade in the north-east proceeded from the cities founded

¹ In Strabo's language (149 fin.) the results of the Trojan war were the wanderings both of the Greeks and Trojans.

on the west coast of Asia after the disappearance of the Trojan power, Miletus, Ephesus, Phocaea, Smyrna. And it does not appear that the trading development was very rapid. The oldest dates, the Eusebian, give the middle of the eighth century for towns on the Propontis and the Euxine (756 for Cyzicus and Trapezus). Even allowing such an epoch to be historical (when Byzantium is given B.C. 667 and Perinthus 599, and the Argo-legend exercised a falsifying influence on all the south Euxine places), we still find a considerable interval between the Ionic migration and the settlement of the Propontis and the Euxine. Trade preceded settlement, no doubt, but when every allowance is made it does not seem that if Agamemnon took Troy in order to open the Dardanelles he or his successors made any use of their opportunity.

The Trojan war, undertaken doubtless to avenge the honour of the Atridae and to recover Helen, resulted, somewhat like the Crusades, in the acquisition of wealthy territory which permitted the establishment of relations with a new eastern world ; stimulated the Greek intellect to its highest point, and eventually sent offshoots into the dangerous waters of the Euxine.

APPENDIX

Note to p. 50. The position of Euripus, Euboea or Negropont was the same in the Middle Ages as in antiquity. On the one hand it was a proverb for instability or vacillation : phrases such as χαίρειν ταῖς ἀγχιστρόφοις μεταβολαῖς κατὰ τὸν τῆς Αὐλίδος πολυρρόθιον πορθμόν (Nicet. Chon. 559. 23)¹ or more shortly Εὐρίπου δίκην may be gathered from almost every Byzantine chronicler. It occurs in geographical manuels (Psellus 1160 B after Delium καὶ παρὰ τοῦτον λιμὴν μέγας ὃν καλοῦσι βαθὺν λιμένα εἶθ' ἡ Αὐλὶς, πετρῶδες χωρίον, καὶ πλησίον ὁ Εὐρίπος), Nicephorus Greg. i. 251 the Cephissus divides into the Asopus and the Ismenus, διὰ δ' Ἰσμηνοῦ τῇ τῆς Εὐβοίας θαλάττῃ σπενδόμενος περὶ τὰ τῆς Αὐλίδος προαῦλια κτλ. Aulis owed its name to αὐλίζεσθαι, and explanations are given of the phenomenon (Psellus in Migne 122. 769). It was therefore not forgotten. On the other hand it did a trade like that of the ancient Chalcis (cf. e. g. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 22), and was the centre of Venetian power in the Archipelago. Many fleets put in and many actions were fought; Theophanes Continuatus 298 ὁ τῆς Ταρσοῦ ἀμνηρᾶς τριάκοντα πλοίων μεγίστων ἃ κομβάρια λέγεται στόλον ἐξαρτυσάμενος κατὰ τοῦ κάστρου Εὐρίπου ὀπλίζεται . . . ὡς εἶδον οἱ ἐκ τοῦ κάστρου τὰ πλοῖα τοῖς τείχεσι πλησιάζοντα they repelled the Saracens with engines and Greek fire. The Euripus did not defend itself. Cinnamus 283. 21; a Venetian fleet Εὐρίπῳ προσέβαλον, but were beaten off by the garrisons of the towns. On another occasion they had better success: Nicet. Chon. 224. 13 ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν εἰσπλεύσαντες ἐπολιόρκουν τὸν Εὐριπον καὶ μέρος τι τούτου κατασχεῖν δεδυνημένοι πῦρ τοῖς οἰκοπέδοις ὑφῆψαν. Pachymeres i. 332. 1 an Italian fleet of thirty ships lay at Euripus. Nicephorus Greg. ii. 878. 12 a Genoese fleet of forty sail was shut up ἐν Αὐλίδι καὶ Ὠρεῶ τοῖς κόλποις τοῖς ἐγγὺς Εὐβοίας and ten

¹ The same writer 805. 21 indulges in a more elaborate simile: οὐδ' Εὐβοία γενναῖον τι βλέπει καὶ ἐλευθερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὕτη χεῖρα προτείνει καὶ τοῦ παλιρροθίου πορθμοῦ ταχύτερον μεθαμρόζεται καὶ ὑποστρώννυσσι τὴν διαβάθραν εἰρωωτέρῳ τοῦ Εὐρίπου στρατεύματι καὶ φρούριον ὁρᾷ δομηθὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γε δὴ τῷ πορθμῷ καὶ στρατιὰν ἰζάνουσιν ἐνδοθεν πρὸς τὸ ἀνάρρουν ἀναστοιβάσουσιν ἀγχοῦσιν τὰ τῶν Εὐβοέων ἀγχι-στροφα διαβούλια καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώμης παλίμβολον ἐπισχίσουσιν.

captured. Ib. iii. 43. 9 τριήρεις Γεννουιτικαὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα . . . ὤφθησαν τὴν ταχίστην εἰς Ὀρωπὸν καὶ Αὐλίδα καταίρουσαι μεταξύ γὰρ ταῖν δυοῖν ταύταιν νοτιωτέραν τὴν θέσιν ἔχουσῶν τῶν πόλεων ἔστιν ἐπιμήκης λιμὴν, πᾶσαν ἀνέμων χλευάζων βίαιον κίνησιν. Here they were blockaded by the Venetians; cf. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 300. In the final Turkish siege of Negroponte, as narrated by Mr. Miller, ib. 471 sqq., no difficulty is found from the tide in bringing up a fleet of 300 sail, with 60,000 or 70,000 men on board. Bridges of boats were thrown across the water below and above the actual Euripos. Canale, the Venetian admiral, with ninety-four sail, cast anchor in the bay of Aulis (p. 478).

Note on p. 68. The navigation of the Peloponnese naturally continued to be the same down to the introduction of steam. Phrantzes ed. Bonn 104. 3, Basil the Macedonian being at Cenchreae and ἱλιγγιάσας περιδεῦσαι τὴν Πελοπόννησον διὰ Μυρμιδόνων καὶ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ Μαλέου καὶ Νοταρίου διὰ δυσκόλου πλοῦ καὶ χιλίων μιλίων μῆκος τηνάλλως ἀναμετρήσας crossed the isthmus, as Agamemnon would had not some reason compelled him to round Malea. The necessity of making for the open sea is shown by the story in Pachymeres 396. 4 sqq. Two ships πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ Μαλέῳ, ὃν καὶ ξυλοφάγον καλεῖν εἰώθασι, λήγοντος τοῦ μηνὸς γίνονται ὅθεν οἱ περὶ Γερμανὸν καὶ τὸν μέγαν λογοθέτην ἀνώθουν τε πρὸς πέλαγος τὴν τριήρη καὶ ἐξουρίαζον τῷ πελάγει πιστεύσαντες σοφώτερον ἢ κατὰ τοὺς λοιπούς. This party μόλις καὶ σὺν πολλῇ βίᾳ . . . πρὸς Μεθώνην (Modon) γίνονται, the other ship was driven on shore and sank. The fate of the first was essentially the same as that of Lord Elgin's boat and Agamemnon. Other people were carried to Crete or Egypt. Cautious sailors waited till the wind changed. Theophanes Continuatus 309, 310, the admiral Adrianus on his way to Carthage πνευμάτων μὴ εὐμοιρήσας ἐπιτηδείων καὶ δεξιῶν μόλις κατῆλθεν ἄχρι Πελοποννήσου, ἐν Μονεμβασίᾳ δὲ ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἰέρακος προσορμίσας τὰς ναῦς ἐπίφορον πνεῦμα ἀνέμενε, ῥαθυμότερος ὥς ἔοικεν ὢν καὶ μὴ ἔχων ζέουσαν τὴν ψυχὴν ὥστε καὶ πρὸς ἐναντία παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ δι' εἰρεσίας ἐν ταῖς διὰ μέσου γαλήναις πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον κατεπείγεσθαι. (He heard from demons at Helos of the fall of Syracuse.) The returning heroes, with more at stake, were rasher.

Note on p. 92. A parallel to Ulysses' kingdom, that is to say Cephallenia, Zacynthus, and Ithaca, with a peraea in Elis, is afforded by the County Palatinate of Cefalonia, of which I take the account from Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, 1908, pp. 2, 30, 47, 151, 262,

&c. At the Fourth Crusade Cefalonia, Zante, and Ithaca were conquered by Margaritone a Sicilian admiral and held by Matteo Orsini of Apulia and his descendants for several generations. Sta. Maura was not part of the County but belonged to the Despotat of Epirus. In 1357 the Tocchi of Benevento succeeded to the county, and in 1362 added thereto Sta. Maura and Vonitza. Till this date, therefore, Ulysses' three islands were a separate principality. Their market was in Elis: Finlay, iv. 236, remarks the Tocchi 'were in possession of Clarentza', which had succeeded Cyllene 'and divided the sovereignty of the rich plains of Elis with the family of Centurione'.

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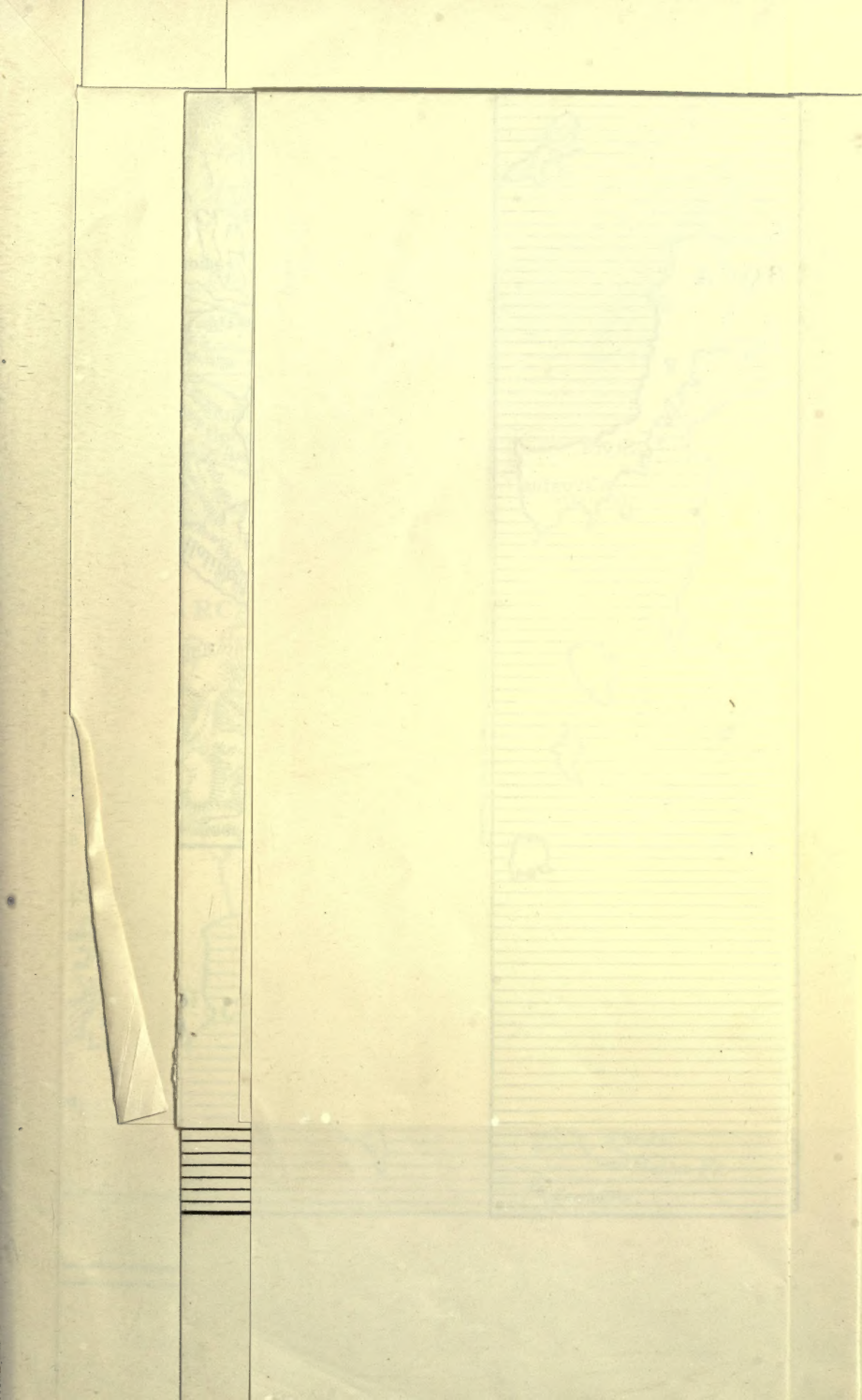
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